Afghanistan & Part of Baluchistan.

Notes on - Geographical, Ethnographical and historical, 1883.

By. H. G. Raverty.

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1883

Sec IV

NOTES

ON

AFGHÁNISTÁN AND PART OF BALÚCHISTÁN,

GEOGRAPHICAL, ETHNOGRAPHICAL, AND HISTORICAL,

EXTRACTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF LITTLE KNOWN AFGHÁN AND TÁJZÍK HISTORIANS, GEOGRAPHERS, AND GENEALOGISTS; THE HISTORIES OF THE GHÚRÍS, THE TURK SOVEREIGNS OF THE DIHLÍ KINGDOM, THE MUGHAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF TÍMÚR, AND OTHER MUHAMMADAN CHRONICLES; AND FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS.

BY

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SECTION FOURTH.

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I will now describe the main routes leading into the Dera'h-ját from the city of Kábul, after which I propose to describe the routes leading from the Dera'h-ját to Kábul by Pes'háwar, and complete this Section with an account of the shorter routes, between Pes'háwar and Bannú and the Abáe-Sín or Indus, south of the river of Kábul.

Seventy-third Route. From Kábul to Laka'í, the chief town of the Marwat tribe, a distance of one hundred and fifty kuroh in the direction of south-east. This route also leads into the Dera'h-ját.

"The route from Kábul to the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán has already been given at page 80.

"Setting out from the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán, and proceeding for a distance of one kuroh in the direction of south-east, inclining east, you reach Gunḍa'í, a village of considerable size, with a *bázár;* and the river of Kurma'h lies away in the distance on the left hand as you proceed. From thence you go half a kuroh farther, in the same direction as before, to Baḍá Khel, which lies near by the road on the right hand, from which you continue onwards for another kuroh, in the direction of south-east, to the Kalaey-i-Aẓ'mat Khán—or A'ẓmat Khán's Village—also lying on the right hand side as you proceed. From thence another half a kuroh brings you to Kalí-i-Háthí Khán, also written Hátí Khán—or 'Háthí or Hátí Khán's Villages'—two villages lying on the left hand, on the other or farther side* of the river of Kurma'h, which flows at a distance of about a kuroh and a half away, on the left hand, while a great *dasht,* or uncultivated waste or plain, stretches away on the right, and hill tracts containing many ascents and descents. From the last-mentioned place you proceed another kuroh in the direction of south-east, inclining south, and reach the Kats Kiṭ,† a large *nahr* or watercourse, which comes from the right hand (the north-west), and, running to the east for a distance of between three and four kuroh, unites with the river of Kurma'h.

"From the Kats Kiṭ another kuroh, in the same direction as before, brings you to the small village of Tájú Khel; and the afore-named river lies distant one kuroh on the left hand as you proceed. From the last-named village you go on for a distance of two kuroh and a half more, in the direction of south-east, and come to the point at which the cultivated lands of the Shítak tribe‡ of Afgháns terminate, and reach Akaṛa'h.§ This is a vast mound of earth, bricks, and other *débris,* on the right-hand side of the road, but aside from it, and near the left bank of the Gamíla'h or Gambíla'h river. It is said that, in ancient times, this was a great city, the seat of government of this territory, and the place of residence of Rustam, the son of Zál-i-Zar, or Zál of the Golden Locks. According to the statements contained in the chronicles of the early history of Í-rán-Zamín, Zál, who was entitled the Sipah-Bud—'Leader of Troops'—held the territories of Zábul and Kábul, as far as the frontiers of Hind, in fief. His son, Rustam, by the daughter of the Kábul Sháh, held those territories subsequently; and he had three daughters, one of whom is said to have dwelt within

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* The course of the river since then must have considerably altered.

† Not "Kachkot," as in MacGregor's Gazetteer, nor "Kooch Kote," as in Edwardes's book. *See* page 88, where this watercourse or canal has been previously referred to as Kach Kiṭ, which is an error for the above. The variation is caused through foreigners not knowing the difference between ج "*j*" and چ "*ch*" of the Persian language and څ *ts* of the Pus'hto, which a few tribes, such as the Dámánís and Ghalzís, change for "*j*" and "*ch.*"

The word *kats,* in Pus'hto, signifies "a gully," "a ravine," "a watercourse," etc.

‡ The great tribe of Afgháns, so called after their ancestor Shítak, son of Kakaey. It contains several sub-tribes, who are now chiefly known under the general name of Bannútsí, as being resident in the territory of Bannú. They will be noticed in their proper place.

§ The name of this place is not "*Akra,*" as in our maps and gazetteers, but is written and pronounced in the vernacular as given above. In the rage for attributing everything to Greeks, this word has, by some, been considered Greek, but I know of no word like it, or equivalent to it, in that language, for a citadel or fortress.

the walls of Akaṛa'h, which was her appanage. The place has been ruined and desolate for centuries; and, occasionally, by excavating in this great mound, bricks of large size and other remains are found.

"The whole of this territory dependent on Akaṛa'h used to be styled Akaṛa'h after it, and was the occasional residence of Rustam-i-Zál, but, when Rustam conferred it upon his sister, who was named Bannú, as a dower on her marriage [to whom the author does not say], it, on that account, acquired the name of Bannú likewise."

In the notice of Zábulistán, subsequently known as the Ghaznín state, I shall enter into greater detail respecting the connection of the Í-rání rulers with these parts bordering on the Sind-Ságar, Abáe-Sín, or Indus. I will, therefore, content myself here with briefly mentioning that the parts in question were held for two or three generations by the ancestors of Rustam, the famous champion of Í-rán, whose name constantly occurs in the traditions concerning these territories.*

Sám, son of Narímán, the Sipah-Bud, or Leader, and Jahán-Pahlawán, or Champion, of Í-rán-Zamín, was made feudatory of Zábulistán as far as the frontier of Hind and Sind. He was succeeded in his fief by his son, Zál-i-Zar, or Zál of the Golden Hair. Mihráb, the Kábul Sháh, a feudatory of Í-rán likewise, and subordinate to the ruler of Zábulistán, gave Zál-i-Zar his daughter, Rúdába'h, in marriage, and she was Rustam's mother, and hence he, like the Turk, Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, in after years, was styled Zábulí after his mother, as well as Sigizí or Sijizí.†

In the reign of Kai-Káús, the first of the Kai-ánián dynasty, Rustam was made Sipah-Bud, and Jahán-Pahlawán; and he was invested with the government of Sigizstán or Sijistán, as well as of Kábul and Zábul to the frontiers of Hind and Sind. Subsequently, Rustam captured the fortified city of Sipand in Hind, a place of vast strength, which stronghold had successfully resisted the attacks of Rustam's great grandfather, Narímán. The defenders of that place were in great want of salt—the Salt Range and salt mines are situated east and north-east of Bannú—and Rustam, disguising himself as a trader in salt, succeeded, by this stratagem, in introducing some of his followers, and surprizing the place.

On the downfall of Rustam's family, the particulars respecting which will be subsequently related in the account of Zábulistán, the three daughters of Rustam fled for shelter to the court of the ruler of Hind.‡ One of these daughters, each of whom held a portion of territory as her appanage, was named Á̱zar-Bánú, which latter word, signifying "a princess," "a lady," refers doubtless to the person whom the author of these surveys mentions under the name of Bannú, with short instead of long "*a*," and with the "*n*" doubled. Akaṛa'h was also known as the city of Á̱zar-Bánú or Bannú.

This name of Bánú, I find, is, in a great measure, confirmed by the author of the Tímúr Náma'h. Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, passed through the Bannú territory, both on his invasion of Hindústán, and also on his return from thence, and the local name is always written Bánú, instead of Bannú, in that valuable historical work. Bábar Bádsháh, Amír Tímúr's descendant, however, in his autobiography, writes it with short "*a*"; and the name is clearly applied to the territory at this period, as in the Tímúr-Náma'h, and not to any particular town; and, as shown at page 88, there was no town known as Bannú when these surveys were made about a century ago, and its chief place was known as the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán. In the same manner that Úrgánj was called "*the city of* Khwárazm," that is to say, Khwárazm's chief city, Srí-Nagar, "*the city of* Kash-mír," and Zaranj, "*the city of* Sístán," Akaṛa'h was also sometimes called "*the city of* Á̱zar-Bánú," and "the city of the Bánú," which, in time, became shortened to Bannú.

There is no such place mentioned in history as "Naghaz," notwithstanding that some persons, [redacted], have "identified it" as Akra, as they style Akaṛa'h. Naghaz—نغز as it would be written in the original—is but a clerical error for Baghzan بغزن—which place has been mentioned in Section Second, page 72.§ Akaṛa'h, in all probability, was one of the fortified places on the frontier of Hind which Jai-Pál, in after years, agreed to deliver

* *See* also the mention, by Bábar Bádsháh, of the Maidán-i-Rustam, at page 91.

† The latter is the 'Arabic mode of writing the word. The Í-rání form is the first.

‡ The ruler of that part of Hind nearest to Bánú or Bannú.

§ *See* page 87, note §. I was, at first, inclined to consider that Akaṛa'h might be the site of what has generally been supposed, through an error in writing the word, to be Naghaz, but further research has proved to me that Naghaz is a mere error for Baghzan, which is a well known place, and was once of much greater consequence than it is at present. It is mentioned several times in the Tímúr Náma'h.

up to the Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, and which the latter appears to have subsequently destroyed, as I shall now proceed to relate.

The 'Arabs, as I have already mentioned at page 62, had, early in the Muhammadan era, penetrated into Sind, but had not attempted to hold possession of it, and they did not bring the ruler of Zábul and Kábul under their yoke until the year 43 H. (663–64 A.D.).* They do not appear to have carried their arms, in the direction

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* I notice in the Appendix to Vol. II. of Elliot's India, page 414, that "in the year 44 H., Muhallab ibn Abú Safra" is said to have advanced "on the Indian frontier as far as Banna (Banú) and Alahwáz [or "'Alahwár'=Lahore ?], two places situated between Kábul and Multán," but no authority is quoted. Then the stock history of "Firishta" is quoted; and Firishtah, it is said, "makes him (Muhallab) penetrate as far "as Multán, and opens his history by saying he was the first chieftain who spread the banners of the true "faith on the plains of Hind." Then we are told, in the volume above quoted, that "Muhallab had been "detached from the main army, which had invaded Kábul from Merv under 'Abdu-r-Rahmán bin Shimar," and that "Muhallab subsequently made himself conspicuous as governor of Alahwár (which is previously "called *Alahwáz*, and said to be *Alahwár* or *Lahore*), and exterminator of the Azrakian insurgents, and as a "traitor to his master, 'Abdu-llah ibn Zubair, the Khalif of Mecca."

Unfortunately for this statement, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, the son of Sumrah, the lieutenant of 'Abd-ullah, the son of 'Amír, the governor of Khurásán in 43 H. (663–4 A.D.), came, not by Marw, but by Sijistán, the capital of which, Zaranj, he first captured. [redacted] Al-Ahwáz in Khúzistán of Í-rán has been mistaken for "Alahwár or Lahore"; and there is not a word contained in the accounts of Muhallab's life to show that he was ever within hundreds of miles of Bannú or the Panj-áb, much less that he was governor of Láhor. Indeed, it is not certain that Láhor existed at the period in question—44 H.—or, at least, under that name, but whether it did, or did not, Al-Ahwáz in Khúzistán is the place referred to.

Up to the year preceding the date just given, namely, the year 43 H., the Musalmáns had only succeeded in penetrating as far east as the city of Bust on the Hírmand or Hílmand ("*r*" and "*l*" being interchangable), and into the Zamín or territory of Dáwar; and, shortly after, in the same year, Kábul was invaded for the first time, but it was not subdued, merely made tributary; for, thirty-six years subsequently, namely in 79 H., under 'Ubaid-ullah, a Musalmán army had to pay 700,000 *dínárs* to be allowed to retire from the Kábul territory, in a state of starvation and utter destitution, as related at page 62 of these "Notes." Subsequently, the ruler of Kábul and Zábul was again forced to agree to pay tribute to the Musalmáns, but the territory was not finally subdued until some three centuries after that. Therefore, that any Muhammadan force could have penetrated to Bannú, and from thence as far east as Láhor, without being either in possession of *what is now known to us* as northern or southern Afghánistán—I do not refer here to *the proper* Afghánistán, or country of the Afgháns, elsewhere described—much less for Muhallab to have been established as governor of Láhor, a glance at the map will show the utter impossibility of. But, as I have before said, Al-Ahwáz has been turned into "Alahwár," and, from that, changed into "Láhore," to suit the so-called "Banna," turned into "Banú"; and, if Firishtah says there were "Azrakian insurgents" at Láhor to be "exterminated," he evinces total ignorance of what he was writing about.

But let us turn for a moment to what purports to be a translation of "Al Biládurí," at page 116 of Vol. I. of the very same work, which I had not previously noticed. The author appears to have forgotten this when the extract above quoted from "Firishta," in his second volume, was written, which it *totally contradicts*. The extract in Vol. I. is as follows:—"In the year 44 H. (664 A.D.), and in the days of the Khalif Mu'awíya, "Muhallab, son of Abú Safra, made war upon the same frontier ['*Sind*, near the frontier of Khurásán,' is "referred to], and advanced as far as *Banna* and *Alhawár* [in a footnote the latter word is said to mean "'Lahore'], which lie between *Multán* and *Kábul*. The enemy *opposed him, and killed him* and his "followers;" and yet this very Muhallab, after he is killed, is "*conspicuous as governor of Lahore*." I may be permitted to doubt whether "Al Biládurí" has been correctly rendered here.

Let us, however, now turn to page 427 of this very same volume, to the "Appendix," entitled "The "Advances of the Arabs towards Sind," and what do we find? After telling us in the previous page that "Colonel Tod is wrong in attributing to the year 65 H. a Muhammadan invasion of Rájpútána, by way of "Sind," and that "the whole story is puerile and fictitious; independent of which, the Arabs had quite "enough to do nearer home," the author says, "The Azárkians [they were Azrakians before], or followers of "Náfi' ibn Azrak [*sic*], had established themselves in the provinces of *Fárs*, *Kirmán*, and *Ahwáz*; and Arabia "and Khurásán obeyed 'Abdu-lla ibn Zubair, the rival claimant of the Khiláfat, who was in possession of "Mecca." He thus totally contradicts what he said before, in this, and what he afterwards again wrote in his second volume. After mentioning the defeat and death of 'Ubaid-ullah, son of Ziyád, in the territory of Kúfah in 'Irák-i-'Arab, in 67 H.—just twenty-three years *after* he first *killed* "Muhallab, son of Abú Safra," he says: "Meanwhile Muhallab had defeated the Azárkian, whom he had pursued into the very heart of Kirmán "[a long way from 'Bannu' and 'Lahore'], and deprived them of their conquests in Fárs and Ahwáz "[previously turned into 'Alhawar=Lahore,' as 'governor' of which he made himself so 'conspicuous']. He "then deserted 'Abdu-lla's cause, and submitted to 'Abdu-l-Malik," etc., etc.

I shall presently show that Muhallab, son of Abí Ṣafrah, died a natural death in the territory of Marw, thirty-nine years after Elliot or his editor killed him at "Banna and Alhawár or Lahore, between Multán and "Kábul."

At the period in question—43–44 H.—and for many years after, until the time that Muá'wiyah became firmly established in the Khiláfat, the Musalmáns were too much occupied in fighting among themselves to be able to pay much, if any, attention to foreign conquests.

According to the Gardaizí, the sixth Amír or governor of Khurásán was 'Abd-ullah, son of 'Amír, son of Kurez, the same whom Muá'wiyah confirmed when he became Khalífah. 'Abd-ullah made another 'Abd-ullah, the son of Ḥázim, his deputy; and, instead of going himself, despatched him thither, and there the latter remained as his deputy until a third 'Abd-ullah, the son of Samírah, came. "'Abd-ullah, son of 'Amír, was "succeeded in the governorship of Khurásán," according to the same authority, "in 44 H., by Ziyád, the son of "Ubayah, who made Ḥákim, son of 'Umaro, his deputy; and in his train came Abú Sa'íd-i-Muhallab, son of "Abí Ṣafrah." This, evidently, was the first time he set foot in Khurásán. In 50 H. (670 A.D.), Ḥákim was succeeded by another deputy, who was named 'Abd-ullah-al-Laiṣí, who held it only for a few months. Muhallab, under Ḥajjáj-us-Ṣafík, was "Amír of the 'Arákín, or, possibly, 'Irákín, which is a territory of "Khurásán," which tract appears to have been situated on the north-east frontier of Khurásán, near the river

of the Sind or Indus, eastward of the great range of the Pus'h-Tún, referred to elsewhere,* which formed the eastern boundary of Zábulistán, subsequently known as the Ghaznín state; for that city, after which it derived its name, does not appear to have been founded at that time, at least, there is no record of it in Muhammadan history to my knowledge, and, if founded, it was of no importance. The Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, known to his Turkish comrades as the Kará Buj-kum or Fierce Yák, ruler of the state of Ghaznín as a feudatory of the Sámání sovereigns, is the first Musalmán, therefore, that we know of, who carried his arms directly east from Ghaznín towards Hind; and even at that period, some three centuries after the death of Muhallab, referred to in the note below, the Zant-bel (Raṇ-Pál, or Ratan-Pál) dynasty had only recently been dispossessed of Kábul and its dependencies, including, as is most probable, the city of Zábul likewise.†

As early as 376 H. (986–87 A.D.) Sabuk-Tigín began to make raids upon the frontiers of Hind; and, in 378 H. (988–89 A.D.) Rájah Jai-Pál, who ruled from the mountains west of the Indus to the Hakṛá, the Lost River of the Indian Desert, with Baṭhindah for his capital—there was no Dihlí at this period, as that city was only founded in 383 H., five years subsequent to the above date—was defeated by the Musalmáns; whose territory to the westward he had invaded. On this occasion most of his army perished from the excessive cold; and he had entered into an accommodation with Sabuk-Tigín, whereby he agreed to pay a large amount of treasure to the Amír, likewise to present one hundred elephants, and, further, that the Amír's officers should be put in possession of four of the fortified cities of Hind on the side of Ghaznín, on the frontier west of the Sind or Indus. Some of the Chiefs of Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, were appointed to accompany Rájah Jai-Pál to receive charge of the treasure and those fortified places, but, on reaching his own territory in safety, Jai-Pál ignored the treaty, refused to carry out its terms, and detained the commissioners as hostages for the safety of his own people whom he had left with the Amír as security for the fulfilment of the treaty in question.

On becoming aware of this conduct, Sabuk-Tigín mustered his forces to take vengeance upon the Hindú for this piece of treachery. He entered Jai-Pál's territory, and carried slaughter, plunder, and devastation wherever he went. Idol temples were overturned and masjids erected on their ruins, and the Lamghán territory and Nang-Nihár, which were the most western parts held by Jai-Pál—the more level tracts in comparison with the old Afghán country—were reduced under his sway. After this success Sabuk-Tigín returned to Ghaznín.

Rájah Jai-Pál, soon after, resolved to make a supreme effort against the Musalmáns to recover what he had lost; and, with the aid of his feudatories and allies, assembled a host of upwards of 100,000 men, but there was no Zant-Bel (Raṇ-Pál or Ratan-Pál) then, who might have aided him by operating on the Musalmán flank. According to some accounts, the footmen were not included in this number, but the infantry of Indian armies, at this period, and for some centuries after, were mere rabble. Jai-Pál marched towards the Ghaznín territory; and Sabuk-Tigín, with his available troops, moved to oppose him. He succeeded in drawing the Hindús into that difficult country where numbers, instead of being a source of strength, were merely a source of weakness and obstruction; and then, by repeated attacks, delivered by small compact bodies of his, in all probability, better disciplined troops, in succession, he completely defeated and overthrew this great host in a hard-fought battle, in which vast numbers of the infidels perished, and the rest took to headlong flight.

The booty captured was priceless; the Hindú territory as far as the banks of the Sind or Indus was overrun by the Musalmáns; and Pas'háur (the Pes'háwar province) was occupied. It was at this time, and upon this occasion, in all probability, that Akaṛa'h, otherwise the city of the Bánú or Bannú, was destroyed, and its territory, along

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Jíḥún (we still have an 'Iráḳ, and an 'Iráḳ Pass, north-west of Kábul); and, when 'Abd-ul-Malik, the son of Marwán, who succeeded to the Khiláfat in 65 H. (685 A.D.), added unto Ḥajjáj's government the provinces of Sijistán and Khurásán, and the countries lying near unto the frontiers of Hind and Sind had been subdued, Ḥajjáj made 'Ubaid-ullah, the son of Abú-Bakr or Bakrah, governor of Sijistán, and Muhallab governor of Khurásán. This was in 78 H. (697–98 A.D.). It was subsequent to this, but in the same year, that 'Ubaid-ullah was despatched from Sijistán, with directions to make war upon Zant-bel (Raṇ-Pál, or Ratan-Pál), the Kábul Sháh, as related at page 62 of these "Notes." Muhallab, at this period, appears to have been fully occupied on the north-eastern frontier of Khurásán; and it was, probably, on this account, that 'Ubaid-ullah was directed to march from Sijistán against the ruler of Kábul and Zábul.

Muhallab died in 83 H. (702 A.D.) at a village named Zághúl, which is also written Zaghúl, with short "*a*," a dependency of Marw, on his way from Kash towards the first-named city, then, and for a long period subsequent, the capital of Khurásán, and of which, to this day, it really forms a part. Muhallab had lost an eye in one of the battles before Samr-ḳand.

* *See* Section Fifth.

† *See* the Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 73.

with the rest of the Hindú possessions west of the Indus, was overrun and devastated; but it was not until the reign of Sabuk-Tigín's son and successor, Maḥmúd, that these tracts, as far as the Indus banks, were finally added to the Musalmán dominions.

That the battle with Jai-Pál was fought in the tracts lying between Ghaznín and Bannú there can be no doubt. It took place, probably, in the Kurma'h Dara'h, or near by, for Nang-Nihár and Lamghán, on the northern side of the Spín Ghar or Safed Koh range, had been already subdued; but, unfortunately, oriental writers too often leave out entirely the names of places where the most important battles have been fought.

The Táríkh-i-Alfí and the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafá state, that, by this victory of Sabuk-Tigín's the Afgháns and the Khalj Turks—not Ghalzí Afgháns, for they are not Khalj Turks—who were dwelling in those parts, plainly indicating in what part the battle took place—also came under the sway of the Turk ruler of Ghaznín.

To resume the description of the route.

"Having proceeded two kuroh from Akaṛa'h in the direction of south-east, the *jangal* and verdant plains* terminate.

"Although from the mountains north of Segí up to this point the trees do not attain to a great height, nevertheless, there are many verdant *jal-gahs* and pleasant tracts; but, from this point, a desert sandy waste stretches away in the direction of south and east, and also the ups and downs of hilly country. In the same manner, from Kábul as far as Ḳabr-i-Mullá—'The Mullá's Tomb'—described in a previous route,† there are many verdant meads, but there are no trees, save the mulberry, and such like fruit trees, in the gardens and orchards, which are simply numberless. From Kábul to the extreme limits of Bunnú likewise the buildings are strong and well built, and flat-roofed.‡

"From the point where the *jangal* and grassy tracts terminate and the sandy waste begins, having proceeded six kuroh in the direction of south, inclining south-east, you reach Daulat K'hí or Daulat S'hí, also known as Dal K'hí or Dal S'hí, and Gundaey,§ and so called [by the latter name] after a division|| of the Marwat tribe of Afgháns. It is a large village, situated one kuroh and a half from the bank of the river of Kurma'h,¶ which lies on its left (east). North of the village, on the left-hand side of the line of route, and near it, is a large lake dependent on rain, which is formed by the hill-torrents after heavy rains in the mountains on the west. The cultivators have consequently made numerous cuts from it for irrigation purposes, and conveyed its waters into their fields;** for the waters of the river of Kurma'h do not reach this part.

"From the village of Daulat S'hí or Dal S'hí, otherwise Gundaey, you proceed seven kuroh in the direction of south-east, inclining east, and reach Paháṛ Khel, another large village, situated on the right-hand, adjoining the road. It is built on high ground, and is the place of residence of Núr Khán of the Paháṛ Khel, a section of the Mamú Khel sub-division of the Khudo Khel Marwats, the descendants of Sandar, son of Sálár, son of Marwat, who for a long period has been the chief and ruler of the Marwat tribe,†† but, at the present time [when these surveys were made], some of the sections of the tribe have turned away their faces from him, and cease to pay him obedience; and they have set up Gul-rang Khán of the Kháfiẓ Khel section of the tribe as their chief.

"A little to the south of this place the Gamílá or, as it is also written, the Gamíla'h and Gambíla'h river flows. It comes from the right hand, and flows

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* The writer refers to the country hereabout as it appears in time of harvest, and not in time of drought.

† *See* page 71.

‡ Scores of new villages have been founded since the time of the writer; some have been ruined during wars and civil strife; numbers have had their names altered; and very many have gone to ruin; and some have disappeared altogether.

§ "Gundee Khan Khel" of the maps probably.

|| A faction rather, caused by the internal feuds in the tribe.

¶ At present it is nearly twice this distance from the river, which has changed its course considerably.

** A canal, small stream, or water-cut, is called *wela'h* and *wala'h* in Pus'hto, the plural forms of which are *weley* and *waley*. In Bannú and the Marwat country they are corrupted into *wí-ál*. *See* page 177, and note ‡, page 317.

In the same manner, lands irrigated from rivers or canals are called "*ábí*" in Tájzík, which word is also used by the Afgháns; and unirrigated lands are called "*lalmí*," as has been previously explained, but Afgháns, likewise, in the Derah-ját and Bannú particularly, use two compound words, namely "*numd-aobey*," from *numd*, "dry," "hot," and *aoba'h*, "water," and "*wuch-aobey*" from *wuch*, "dry," "arid," etc., and *aobey*, "water," but who would recognize them in "Tandôbee" and "Vichôbee"?

†† The name of this tribe is مروت = Mar-wat, consequently, it is not called "*Maorat*," but the name is sometimes written Mur-wat: the former is correct.

towards the left. It is a considerable stream, which takes its rise in the mountain tracts of Kární-Grám, in the country of the Wazírí Afgháns,* farther west, and finally unites with the river of Kurma'h some distance lower down (*i.e.* farther east) than the town of Laka'í. It is fordable, being just knee-deep, except after falls of rain in the mountains, when it rises considerably, and becomes impassable.

"Setting out from Pahár Khel, and proceeding two kuroh to the south-east, you cross the Gamíla'h river; and then, proceeding another kuroh and a half in the same direction as before, reach Laka'í.† This is a town of considerable size, but the dwelling places are mere huts, and the river flows near by it on the left hand as you proceed."

The Marwat Afgháns.

"The Marwat Afgháns are a section or sub-tribe of the great tribe of Núhární, which will be noticed farther on. The Marwat section consists of about 40,000 families, the greater number of whom follow a nomadic life, but many of them have taken to fixed abodes, and the cultivation of the soil. There are at present two Sardárs or Chiefs in this tribe: one, Núr Khán of the Pahár Khel, before referred to as being the rightful chief, and the other, Gul-rang Khán of the Kháfiz‡ Khel, who has been lately set up by some sections of the tribe. Núr Khán dwells at Pahár Khel, and Gul-rang Khán, the rival chief, at Paṭhán-Koṭ; and between these rival chiefs there is no accord. Both pay allegiance to Tímúr Sháh Sadozí, Bádsháh of Kábul, each pay into his treasury 5,000 rúpís as a tenth, and each furnishes a contingent of 200 horsemen to the Bádsháh's army.§ Their principal wealth is in cattle; and they likewise possess numerous flocks of sheep, and herds of camels. In the winter time they come into the *garam-sír* or hot parts, in the tracts east of the mountains towards the great river, but, in the summer months, they resort to the *sard-sír* or cool tracts in the mountains.

"Their country, which, previous to their arrival in it, was known by the Hindí name of "Thal," extends, from east to west, for about fifty kuroh in length, and forty kuroh in breadth from north to south.‖ The chief place, and seat of government, is styled Laka'í, which is a town of considerable size, but the houses are merely constructed of reeds, and thatched with grass laid on the branches of trees.¶ As this tract of country consists chiefly of sandy tracts and desert, as its name indicates, and is surrounded on all sides by mountains at greater or lesser distances, it is exceedingly dry and hot; and, as large trees and long grass do not grow hereabouts, its inhabitants have no other stations or dwelling-places save such like unsubstantial

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* The country of the Mas'úd Wazírís, but there are no "*Mahsúds*" among them. Kární-Grám signifies Stone-Town, but "Kánígoram," "Kanagoram," "Kaniguram," "Kannegoorrum," and the like, as the word appears in our maps, reports, gazetteers, and geographical works, are all incorrect. *See* page 88, note §.

† Turned into "Lukhee," in the maps, and "Lukkee," and "Lakí," by others. The word Laka'í, in Pus'hto, signifies, "tail," "termination," "extremity," "after-part," "rear," and the like, but the "*k*" is not doubled. It is also called, at times, the "Mena'h," which word in Pus'hto signifies, "a residence," "dwelling," "home," etc. This place was formerly in the possession of the Sárang clan of the Níází tribe of Afgháns. When Khush-ḥál Khán, Khaṭak, held the Tsautara'h district, under his father, Sháh-Báz Khán, he made a raid from thence on the Sárangs of Laka'í.

Masson, in his "Travels," places "Lakkí," as he styles it, on the "Khúram," but it is on the Gambíla'h, and is, at present, rather more than three miles from the river of Kurma'h. Laka'í, as it was when these surveys were made, is still situated on the *right* bank of the Gambíla'h.

The fort built in the time of the Sikh dominion is a totally different place from the fort of Laka'í here referred to.

‡ This name might be mistaken for Ḥáfiẓ, but the latter word is written with ظ, not ض, and occurs, in several places, in three copies of the original MS.

§ This is what they actually paid and furnished at the time these surveys were made, and as stated by themselves to the person who made them. It is, however, amusing to read what they did *not* pay or furnish, according to their own accounts lately given, but their object was evident enough. It is the same with all: the Marwat Afgháns are not the only ones. *See* Edwardes, Vol. I., page 363.

‖ At the present time the name "Thal" is chiefly applied to the tract of country north of the river of Kurma'h, as far north as the Khaṭak hills, and is held by portions of the Wazírí tribe.

¶ Contrary to the Balúch, the Afghán likes more substantial dwellings than are to be found in Marwat, but there is a reason why they have them not, besides what is stated above. The earth from its very sandy nature will not adhere, and it is therefore totally unsuitable for building purposes, and, what is more, water is exceedingly scarce. Had this not been the case, the Afgháns of Marwat might have rivalled the "cowardly" Bannútsí Afgháns in the number of their forts, but the earth of Bannú, from its clayey nature, is remarkably tenacious, and well adapted for building purposes. Reeds and rushes grow plentifully in the swampy parts near the banks of the river of Kurma'h, which is not far away.

The ground gradually descends from the west towards the east, from the hills in which the Baiṭní Afgháns dwell towards the point of junction of the Gambíla'h with the river of Kurma'h. Towards the north again the ground is still higher. From the physical nature of the country, it is highly probable that, as tradition asserts, the country around Laka'í, and as far as the Tangaey, or Dara'h-i-Tang of modern times, was once a large lake, and that it remained so down to comparatively modern times, as its former Pus'hto name of Ḍand indicates.

abodes. The river Gamíla'h and river of Kurma'h flow through the middle of the Marwat territory; and on both sides of these rivers the land is exceedingly fruitful, and produces fine crops. The Gamíla'h, as before mentioned, comes down from the hilly country of Kární-Grám, and, passing on the north side of the town of Laka'í, unites with the river of Kurma'h and its many minor tributaries three or four kuroh farther east. The united streams then flow through the lower part of the country of the 'Ísá Khel, receiving some minor streams from the hills of that part, and finally unite with the Abáe Sín. Like some other Afghán tribes, the Marwat Núhárnís re-distribute the lands of their villages every ten or twelve years, sometimes after longer periods; and each member of the community, even to the infant in arms, has a share allowed. This re-distribution is, however, restricted within certain customary regulations.

"The *lalmí* lands, or lands dependent on rain for irrigation, are chiefly unproductive. In the cold season, however, much rain falls, and snow likewise, but, in the hot season, the heat is very great. It is not the custom in this country to sink wells, and the people use the river water for drinking purposes. The chief produce consists of wheat, barley, jowár, bájra'h, and muthh, in great plenty, but of sugar-cane, rice, and cotton, the produce is scanty. Traders have to pay a tax.

"Laka'í lies about equidistant from the several mountain ranges surrounding it, being about twenty kuroh from each, save those in the direction of Bunnú and Ṭák, which lie farther off.

"The language of the people of the Marwat country is Pus'hto only, save in a few instances where the Balúchí and Panjábí languages are also spoken, but by persons of a different race."

Seventy-fourth Route. From Kábul to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán by way of Laka'í and Chaudh-Wa-án, a distance of two hundred and seventy kuroh south, inclining south-east.

"The route from Kábul to Laka'í has been described in the preceding route. Setting out from the last-named place, you proceed two kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach the Chuna'í, a river dependent on rain,* and of great depth,† which comes from the range of mountains on the left hand, and, flowing towards the right for a distance of six or seven kuroh, unites with the Gamíla'h. On the way to it from Laka'í you pass through a sandy tract in which there is great scarcity of water.

"From the Chuna'í you proceed three kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining south, to the Gira'í‡ of the Abá-Khel, a village§ named after a clan of the Marwat tribe; and then another two kuroh to the south-west to the Gira'í of the Kakah Khel, another village lying on the right hand, and named after another clan of the Marwat tribe of Afgháns. Leaving it, you proceed another two kuroh to the south-west, inclining south, to the Gira'í of the Abá Khel, and then another two kuroh, in the same direction as before, to Tatar Khel,‖ so called after another clan of the Marwat tribe. You then go on for a distance of four kuroh to the south, inclining south-east, and reach the Gira'í-i-Sálṭí. West of it is a considerable river, dependent on rain, which comes from the left hand, flows towards the right, and becomes lost in the sandy waste; and this river they call the Lúra'h.¶ Setting out from the banks of the afore-mentioned river, and proceeding another two kuroh in the same direction as before, you reach the Gira'í-i-Loární, a place belonging to a clan or section of the Marwat tribe called the Daulat Khel. Katál Khán, the Sardár or Chief of Ṭák, belongs to this clan.

"Up to this point there is excess of sandy desert; and the mountains on either hand show themselves stretching away in the distance to the right and left. Going on from the Gira'í-i-Loární for half a kuroh in the direction of south, you reach a gorge in a small mountain range; and, having descended through it for a distance of one kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining south, you arrive at the small fort of Paṭhán-

* The "Choonie Nala" of our maps.

† After heavy rains, probably, in the northernmost part of the Rátá Roh, or Koh-i-Surkh, styled, in our maps, "Mohrut," and "the Nílah range."

‡ *See* page 235, note *, for the correct meaning of this word.

§ Now, a large and prosperous village.

‖ This is the "Tittur Kheyl" and "Titar Kheyl" of the maps, and "Teeturkheyl" of Edwardes.

¶ Turned into "Lohra" in the Survey maps.

Koṭ.* It is built on the crest of a mountain, and was erected by Gul-rang Khán, previously referred to, the rival chief of the Marwats, out of hostility towards Núr Khán, of the Pahár Khel, a few years ago, in the year 1204 H. (1789–90 A.D.) Gul-rang Khán is a young man, but in size so gigantic, that, from the writer's earliest recollection up to the present time, he has never beheld another such among the human race.

"There is no water within the walls of the fort of Paṭhán-Koṭ, but in the bed of the river Lorníhá,† which runs on the east of it, they have dug *chukkars* [shallow holes to hold water], and take their supply of water from them. This river is also dependent on rain, and comes from the left hand [the east]. Proceeding from Paṭhán-Koṭ three kuroh west in the bed of this river, you reach another of considerable size, also dependent on rain, which is known as the Painzú. It comes from the northwards, unites with the Lorníhá, and receives the name of Painzú, and becomes absorbed, farther down, in the direction of Ṭak-wára'h. Proceeding onwards from the banks of the last-named river, you enter a dara'h or defile in the mountains, and, keeping along the river side for the distance of half a kuroh south-west, emerge from the mountains, after which another half a kuroh brings you to the Gira'í-i-Marwat.‡ The before-mentioned river runs on the right hand; and at this point the territory of Marwat terminates."

The two parallel ranges of mountains which, from the Tangaey, a little to the east of which the river of Kurma'h unites with the Indus, and from near the point of junction, respectively, run towards the south-west and separate the Marwat country from that of the Khassúr tribe of Afgháns on one side, and from the northern part of the Dera'h-ját on the other, constitute the northernmost part of the Koh-i-Surkh, or Rátá Roh, or Rátá Pahár, described at page 5 of these "Notes. Another part of the same range, but of lesser elevation, known to our geographers as the "*Bhuttunnee*" Range (because the *Baiṭní* tribe of Afgháns inhabits it perhaps), juts out from the main range farther west, and runs towards the south-east, gradually lessening in altitude, to meet the other two above referred to, and thus separates the Marwat country from Ták or Ṭánk. At the apex, where the two portions meet, they are pierced by the Painzú stream,§ previously mentioned; and the dara'h, through which it flows, is known as the Painzú *Kotal* or Pass. It is, upon the whole, tolerably easy and level, except at its commencement on the northern or Marwat side, as already described, where, for some distance, it is steep, and, in some places, very narrow, but it improves as you proceed.

With the exception of two minor *kotals*, or rather clefts, in the so-called "Bhuttunnee Range," there is no road (except by the Bain *Kotal* on our extreme western frontier) leading to the south from Marwat, and these two minor *kotals* are narrow and difficult. It would be almost impossible to take laden animals over them, and hence, the Painzú *Kotal* is the most frequented route, being the high road followed by traders and travellers between the Dera'h-ját, and Marwat and Bannú, and other parts to the north, and the route which troops would also have to follow.

These two minor *kotals* are known as the Khaṭey Lár,‖ or Miry Road, and the Sijzí or Sigí *Kotal*, the former being little more than a kuroh distant on the right hand as you proceed south by the Painzú *Kotal*, and the latter about the same distance to the right or west of the former.

The Bain *Kotal* lies rather less than seven kuroh to the north-west of that of Sijzí; and through it the present frontier road passes. It is a good road, but is without water; and, being on the extreme western frontier, is liable to be infested by the Wazírís. In following it, on the way south, a person would be taken a good deal out of his way. This pass will be again noticed. There is yet another, north of the Bain

* Not to be found in our largest Survey maps, nor is it mentioned, I believe, in recent accounts of the Bannú district, as at present constituted.

† Not indicated even in our largest maps. It may also be written Lornía'h. Great changes in the courses of the streams and watercourses have taken place here, as well as elsewhere in the Dámán, since these surveys were made.

‡ This place appears to be identical with what is now styled in our maps "*Nuwa Peyzoo*," intended, probably, for Nowá or New Painzú.

§ The "*n*" in this word is nasal. It is the "*Pezú*" of gazetteers, and "*Peyzoo*" of the maps. It is the river which flows through the dara'h that gives name to the *kotal*, and not the *kotal* to the river, as erroneously supposed. Some changes have, apparently, taken place in the course of the latter since the author wrote. The river appears in our maps as the "Pooranu Peyzoo Nala." "Puráná," which signifies "old," "former," etc., like "nowa," is a Hindí, or rather Sanskrit word used in Hindí, not an Afghán word.

‖ *Khaṭa'h*, in Pus'hto, signifies "mud" or "mire, and *lár*, a road. Here the first is inflected, and used to qualify the other word. This name too, through its meaning not being known, has been distorted into the "*Kutla* Pass," and "*Katlar* Pass." In the same way, the other name has been turned into "*Siggee*."

Kotal, but it is barely practicable for camels and horses. It is known as the Tabí *Kotal*.

"As the mountains and arid plains of this territory contain but little water, the Marwat tribe, in the hot season, come down from the mountains, and pitch their tents on the banks of these rivers, which are dependent on rain; and, wherever there may be springs of water, there they take up their residence, for shorter or longer periods, and sometimes for good. If they dig in the beds of these rivers to the depth of a man's stature, water exceedingly cool and pure is obtained, and is consumed by themselves and their cattle. If, however, they should dig deeper, the ground gives way, on account of the sandy nature of the soil, and the pit or well fills up again, and the water is lost. The place where *iláts* or nomads take up their dwelling they style a *gira'í*.*

"From the Gira'í-i-Marwat two roads diverge. The left-hand one leads to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, and the right-hand one is as follows. Setting out from the Gira'í-i-Marwat, you proceed twelve kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, and reach Ţák, which is a town of considerable size, and named after an Afghán clan.† By the way there is scarcity of water, and you pass many *gira'í* or stations of the Marwat *ilúts* or nomads. The Painzú river, which runs towards the west, passes to the east of Ţák.

"The Afghán people of the Ţák territory belong to the Daulat Khel branch of the great tribe of the Núhární Afgháns,‡ also known, by using '*l*' for '*n*,' as Lúhární, but who have separated from the parent stock. They number between 8,000 and 9,000 families.§ Katál‖ Khán, the Sardár or Chief of the clan, who dwells in the town of Ţák, belongs to a subdivision of the Daulat Khel. He pays 4,000 rúpís yearly as *'ushr*, or a tenth, into the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul, and furnishes a contingent of 200 horse and foot to the Bádsháh's army.¶

"The territory of Ţák, which forms the extreme north-west part of the territory called Sind, from south to north, is twenty kuroh in length, and from ten to twelve kuroh in breadth from east to west. Its surface is somewhat rough, containing many elevations and depressions, low ranges of hills, deep ravines, and stony plains. The Dzamad,** or Jamad river flows through this territory, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands in the country or tract inhabited by the Gandah-púrs [or Dzandah-púrs] a little farther south.

"Setting out from Ţák, you proceed three kuroh south to Tataur,†† a large village belonging to the Ţák section of the Tataur division, of the Núhární tribe, under the rule of Fázil Khán, and the afore-mentioned river lies on the left hand. The Tataur Afgháns consist of about 3,000 or 4,000 families. Fázil Khán, their Sardár or Chief, pays 2,000 rúpís to the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul, by way of *'ushr*,

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* Here again is a specimen of how words may be vitiated by persons, without understanding a language, writing from ear alone. The meaning and correct pronunciation of this word was given more than twenty years ago in my Afghán Dictionary, but in our maps, official papers, and gazetteers, it is turned into "*Kirri*," "*Kirí*," "*Keeree*," "*Kirree*," and "*Kiri*," while one compiler, in one place, applies "*Kiri*" to *the people* so encamping, and, in another place, applies both "*Kirri*" and "*Kirí*" to *places*, such as "*Kirí* Haidar," without, apparently, knowing that both his terms refer to the same word, as is explained above. I rather suspect that many of the names of places in the Revenue Survey Maps with "Gurra" prefixed, refer, really, to these nomad *gira'í*. Indeed, I find *Keeree*, and *Khera*, used indiscriminately, in one map, as well as *Gurra*.

The Balúch tribes call such stations *jhoks*.

† Not now to be traced I believe.

‡ Some of the Daulat Khel are Powandahs, certainly, and are, as above stated, Núhárnís, but not "*Povindah Laharnis*."

§ They, like the sections of several other Afghán tribes, increased more rapidly than others of their kinsmen, and separated from them, found new lands in which to dwell, and, in consequence, by many, are supposed to be distinct tribes. A few Afgháns of other neighbouring tribes dwell among them, and also many Jaţs. The fort of Ţák is a place of some strength; and the interior, planned by the late Sarwar Khán, is very intricately arranged. It was this last-named chief who, in after years, built a great *band* or dam across the Gumul, and diverted its waters from their natural course towards the north.

‖ He is neither called "Katal" nor "Kuttál." It is written as above.

¶ *See* Edwardes, "Year on the Panjab Frontier," Vol. I., p. 422.

** This is the river which appears in our maps as the "Zam." MacGregor calls it the "Tánk Zám," but that is incorrect. It might be certainly called the Dzamad of Ţák. There is no long vowel in the word, therefore "*Zám*" is impossible.

†† There is no place of this name on the road in question at this time. Its name has possibly been changed. There is a small village so called about four miles west-north-west of Ţák, which appears in the maps as "*Tittor*," and "*Tutohr*," and in official records as "*Tattor*," and "*Tator*," but this is not the place referred to by the writer, for that lay south of Ţák. Its position would be near what appears as "Bura Khel" in the maps, or a trifle farther west.

or a tenth; and, in time of war, furnishes a contingent of 60 cavalry to that monarch's army.*

"The tract of territory belonging to the Tataurs is about ten or eleven kuroh in length, and between seven and eight broad, lying on either side of the Dzamad or Jamad river.†

"From the village of the Tataurs you proceed five kuroh to the south, as before, and reach Mamrez, a place also inhabited by the Ṭák section of the tribe; and from thence you go another two kuroh, in the same direction as before, and reach the banks of a river dependent on rain, which comes from the right hand [west], runs towards the left, and unites with the Gumul river.‡ Another kuroh farther in the same direction brings you to Rúṛhí,§ a large village inhabited by the Gandah-púr, or Gandah-púr Afgháns. Leaving it, you go twelve kuroh south-east, inclining south, to Kúlánchí,‖ or Kúláchí, a large village belonging to the Gandah-púr Afgháns, under the sway of Ázád Khán, their chief. On the way between Rúṛhí and Kúlánchí you meet with the camps or stations of the Gandah-púrs, who dwell after the manner of *íláts* or nomads. The Koh-i-Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyah, or Sulímán Range, which is exceedingly lofty, and covered with perpetual snow, shows itself on the right-hand side as you proceed.

"The Gandah-púr [or Dzandah-púr] Afgháns, who are of Sayyid descent, are a branch of the tribe of Úsh-tarání, or rather sub-tribe, for the latter are one of the two sections of Sayyid descent among the Sheránís, the Bakht-yárí being the other, who, like other sections contained among several other Afghán tribes, on account of such descent, are held in more or less veneration by the other branches. The Úsh-taránís will be again referred to in their proper place. The Gandah-púrs number between 6,000 and 7,000 families; and the extent of their territory, from south to north, from near Drá-bhan to the vicinity of Pahár-púr, is about fifteen kuroh, and, from west to east, is about six or seven kuroh in breadth. It is known as Rúṛhí,¶ and, as its name indicates, is

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* Like others of the Núḥární tribe, the Tataurs made some figure in India. When Aḥmad Khán, Súr, son of Sado, a grand-nephew of Sher Sháh, assumed sovereignty in the Panj-áb, with the title of Sikandar Sháh, after the defeat of Sulṭán Ibráhím in 962 H., and he had to submit to Akbar Bádsháh in 964 H. (1557 A.D.), and asked to be permitted to retire into obscurity without having to present himself, and set out for Bangálah, then ruled by a Núḥární sovereign, he sent his son, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, to the Court, attended by one of his most trusted followers; and the person in question was Ghází Khán, the Tataur.

It is strange what has become of them in recent times; for I find, from the statement of one district officer, that the whole of the Tataur clan consists of but "some sixty men," and yet they are said to live "principally in the village of Tator [he means Tataur]," and some in two other villages, while the village of Tataur alone contains over a hundred male inhabitants of whom, probably, the majority are of this very clan.

† Some tribes use the letter "*j*" instead of "*dz*," but the latter is the most correct. They also use "*j*" and "*ch*" for "*ts*," as before mentioned.

‡ The changes which subsequently took place were caused by the erection of Sarwar Khán's *band* or dam, which was constructed many years after these surveys were made.

§ "Rorí" and "Roree" of the maps.

‖ It is now a considerable town, other villages being now embraced within it, and contains some 10,000 inhabitants. As indicated by its name, it was formerly a possession of, and peopled by, the Kúlánchí or Kúláchí Balúch tribe. *See* page 4, and the historical notice of the Balúch tribes in the next Section of these "Notes." Masson turns the name into "Kalaichi," in his usual incorrect manner of writing proper names.

Edwardes (Vol. I., p. 574), referring to the village of Daulat-wálah to the west of the Dera'h of Fatḥ Khán, falls into great error again. He says that in its ruined fort "lives the chief zumeendar, Hôt Khán, "Koláchee," and in brackets adds, "not derived from Kolâchee in the Gundapoor country, but a tribe of "Beloochees." He was unaware, probably, that the Kúláchí Balúchís founded the "Kolâchee in the Gundapoor "country," and that they possessed the country around long before the Gandah-púr clan reached it. *See* page 4.

¶ This is a tract of some interest in the history of Afghánistán and of Hindústán; and it may not be amiss to mention why it is so, more particularly since it has not been hitherto mentioned, I believe, by any European writer, and by very few native historians.

About seven miles south-east of the point where the Gumul river pierces the mountains of the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Roh, or outer range of Mihtar Sulímán, there is a small hilly tract, about eight or nine miles in length, and about half that extent in breadth, which juts out from the first-mentioned range, and runs almost due north. It has the Gumul on its northern skirt, and what in our maps is called the "Loonee" on its southern side, and extends east to within about three miles of the large village of Rúṛhí.

This tract is hard, harsh, and as unpromising as can well be seen, with scarcely a stunted tree, shrub, or sign of vegetation. Such land in Pus'hto is called *zejzey*, meaning "hard," "rough," "stiff," "rigid," etc., which it is said, "in the Multání dialect of the Panj-áb, is called *rúṛhí*," by which name it is still known, and gives name to the village above mentioned. The word, of course, is from Sanskrit *rúṛh*, which bears the meaning given above; and there is another similar tract, between Sakhí Sarwar and the Indus, also called by this Sanskrit name.

This tract on the Gumul was in former times inhabited by the descendants of Súr, son of Ismá'íl, grandson

rather rough in surface, consisting of low ranges of hills, and excess of ascents and descents, elevations and depressions. The *kharíf*, or autumnal cultivation, is carried on by irrigating the lands from the Dzamad river; but the *rabí'*, or spring crops, depend entirely on rain. Their territory produces much wheat, barley, jowár (*holcus sorgum*), bájrá (*holcus spicatus*), muṭhh (lentils), and másh (*phaseolus max.*). The Gandah-púrs are assessed at some thousands of rúpís by way of *'ushr*, or a tenth; and, in time of war, have to furnish a contingent of 200 horse and foot to the Bádsháh's army. Ázád Khán, who is their Sardár or Chief, resides at the village, or cluster of villages, called Ṭak-wára'h,* which they likewise style by the name of Gandah-púr, and also at Kúlánchí.

"The rule over the Gandah-púrs is not hereditary, but depends, as in the case of several other Afghán tribes, on the accord of the tribe generally.

"When they first obtained lands in this part, namely, at Ṛúṛhí, just referred to, which were assigned them by a former chief of Ṭák, they adopted the system of *wesh* in the division of the newly acquired lands, as is the custom among several Afghán tribes, and each family or household received an equal share. An interchange takes place about every six or seven years, so that those who have previously held the poor land get the better sort for a similar period.†

"North of the village of Kúlánchí a large river flows, which is known as the Gumul. It comes down from the right hand [the west], and rises in the mountain tracts east of Ghaznín and Margha'h, not far from the source of the Tonchí river. After passing Kúlánchí it is drawn off for irrigation purposes in the neighbourhood of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, farther to the eastward.‡

"The whole of the tract through which the Gumul flows and reaches, after it pierces the Koh-i-Siyah, or Koh of Mihtar Sulímán, is also called Gumul, after the river. Its course, west of the great mountain chain, will be referred to in greater detail farther on.

"The river Dzamad, which rises in the mountains to the north of the Gandah-púr territory, and flows through Ṭák, is expended in the irrigation of their lands, as before remarked, but, according to some statements, it unites with the Sind river. This, in all probability, it does, after heavy rains in the mountains, when it rushes down with considerable violence.

"To return to the route. Leaving Kúlánchí, you proceed four kuroh south, inclining south-east, to Mí'án Ghulám dá Koṭ, a place inhabited by the Mayah Khel; and from thence three kuroh farther towards the south is Ḍrá-bhan,§ the name applied to two large villages belonging to another branch of the Núhární tribe of Afgháns. Going from thence a distance of one kuroh and a half south, you come to a place called Músá Khán;|| and you then go on to Sháh 'Álam Khán, another small place, one kuroh farther south. The next stage of three kuroh, still in the same direction,

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of Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-e daey—Lo-daey,—namely, the Yúnas Khel section, which includes the Daulat Khel, a portion of whom still dwell at Ṭák, as already mentioned, and the Sher Khel. It was from this Ṛúṛhí, otherwise the Zejzey, that Mián Ḥasan, of the Sher Khel, came into Hindústán—not "down from Roh"—in the reign of Sulṭán Bahlúl, who sprang from another branch of the Lodís, and whose son, Faríd, overthrew the Mughal dynasty, and, under the title of Sher Sháh, ruled in great glory over Hindústán. Khán-i-Zamán, the ancestor of Ḳatál Khán, of the Daulat Khel Núhárnís, mentioned at page 325, gave this rough tract of country to the homeless Gandah-púr Ush-taránís, when they came out of Roh, in which to dwell, and there they still reside. *See* note |||, page 341.

There were some Lodís in this part as early as the time of Maḥmúd, Sulṭán of the Ghaznín kingdom.

* I believe this should be more correctly Ṭak-Wára'h, or the garden or enclosure, at Ṭak, or, of Ṭak, from the Sanskrit *wára*, signifying an enclosure, garden, and the like. The number of names and terminations found in names of places in this part, and farther south, are the names which existed in the time of these Balúchís, long before the present Afghán tribes now dwelling in this part obtained a footing in the Dera'h-ját. *See* following note ‡, next page.

† *See* the system adopted in Suwát, described at page 209. The lands at present, however, are not re-distributed among the Gandah-púrs: the system has been discontinued.

‡ *See* note §, page 325.

§ Ḍrá-bhan, I would remark, has no reference whatever to a *dara'h*, which is written دره, not درا, like the above; consequently, it does not mean "the Closed Pass." "Durruh-bund" certainly does not mean that, because there are no such words that I am aware of, *band* being written بند, and not بهن *bhan*. The words are not Persian or Tájzík, but Hindí. The word is written ڈهرا بن—Dhṛá-ban—in the Khuláṣat-ul-Ansáb, but, as elsewhere mentioned, Afgháns use "*d*" in place of Hindí "*dh*." *See* preceding note *. When the last-named work was written, there were Sarwánís still located in the Ḍrá-bhan territory, near the Núhárnís; so they could not have been quite "annihilated as far as concerns Afghánistán," in the reign of Humáyún Bádsháh, as Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, states in his book. They emigrated, in great numbers, in former times, into India. The chief of Máler Koṭlah was a Sarkární Afghán when these surveys were made.

|| "Moosa Zaie" of our maps.

brings you to Chauḍh-Wa'án. This is a town of considerable size belonging to the Bábaṛ offshoot of the Sheráni tribe of Afgháns; and from Ṭák to this place the territory lying along the skirt of the Koh-i-Siyah, or Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán, or Sulímán Range, is called Dámán, which I will briefly describe."

The Dámán.

"Dámán, as its name indicates, lies at the foot or skirt of the Koh-i-Sulímán, and extends from Ṭák to Chauḍh Wa'án, and west to Zarkaní, so called after a clan or section of the Shpún Baiṭnís. On the east it joins the district dependent on the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán; and, on the west, extends to the foot of the mountains—the easternmost skirts of the great range—which the Afghán inhabitants here style Ghar, —the Pus'hto word for mountain—and also Shú-ál. Dámán, therefore, is about forty kuroh long, from north to south, and about twenty kuroh broad, from west to east. Its surface is generally flat, and is sometimes sandy, but consists chiefly of clay and sand which have become considerably hardened, indicating that it has been formed of the *débris* washed down from the mighty range in the course of centuries, but, more particularly, from the easternmost or lowest ridges of the outer chain, which are composed of sandstone grey in colour. Near the hills this hardened surface is partially covered by a broad belt of boulders, and small loose stones washed down in time of floods. Where there is no water available for irrigation purposes, this surface is bare of grass, but it is partially covered with low tamarisk *jangal*, and the *jawásá* or camel-thorn (*hedysarum alhagi*), but the trees are few, and seldom attain any considerable height. The rainy season of this part is the winter; and the custom of sinking wells is unknown, and river water is used for all purposes. When the rivers become dry they dig in their beds to about the depth of a man's stature, and pure water issues forth, and suffices for the use of man and beast. The language of the people, like that of all Afgháns, is Pus'hto, but, as is the case with regard to other languages, there is considerable difference between that spoken here and in other districts of the same country."

The Bábaṛ Afgháns.

"The Bábaṛ* Afgháns, who may now be considered almost a distinct tribe, are really but a sub-tribe, section, or branch, of the Sheránís, hereafter to be noticed, being descended from a son of Dom, one of Sheránaey's grandsons. The Bábaṛs consist of about 6,000 or 7,000 families dwelling in the territory of the Dámán, but, mostly, within the mountain tracts immediately to the west, and, like the Ghalzís, and some others, are much scattered about. Some are entirely independent, and live in permanent dwellings and cultivate the soil, while others dwell after the manner of *ílát*s or nomads.† Their chief town, and seat of authority, or residence of their chief, is Chauḍh-Wa'án,‡ which is a considerable town, situated at the foot of the mountains of the Koh-i-Surkh, the outer, lowest, and easternmost of the great chain, to be presently referred to. The river which comes from the right hand [west], rises in the country of the Sheráni Afgháns; passes near the southern end or termination of the Takht-i-Sulímán, or highest part of this vast range; and, in the outermost or easternmost range of the chain, unites with another stream known as the Kaldaní,§ issuing from, and its bed constituting, so to say, the road leading from Chauḍh-Wa'án to the foot of the S'hwey-Lári Ghás'haey or Slippery Road|| Pass, farther to the south, which will

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* There is no Afghán tribe called "*Babhurs.*" Elphinstone, adopting the Í-rání pronunciation, styles them "Bauboors," after his manner of writing "Khaun" for Khán and "Damaun" for Dámán. Edwardes says (p. 564), "The Sheraunees do not plunder the Choudwan country." The reason is that they are kinsmen of the Bábaṛs.

† *See* the account of the Powandahs in the next Section.

‡ It will be noticed that the names of several places in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, as well as in the Dera'h-ját, and other parts, end in Wa'án as above, but written in our maps incorrectly as "Van." In the dialect of the Panj-áb and the Dera'h-ját, it is of the same signification as *báwalí* in Hindí, namely, a great well of burnt brick, with stone steps to descend into it.

MacGregor states that, for assisting the chief of the "Daolat Khéls, when they first came down into the plains," he gave the Bábaṛs a portion of his land, "which is called Choadwán, or the fourth share." Unfortunately, *chaudawán* means fourteenth, and a fourth is *chauthá*, but neither word refers to this place.

§ This river appears in the Indian Atlas map as the *Wulheree* N. (Nálah), but, in the large Panj-áb Survey map, it is the *Valari* N.; and the name seems somehow like an attempt at S'hwey Lári. MacGregor, however, turns it into *Lohúra*, but, in another place, calls it the "*Walheri* ravine." The other river referred to as coming from the right hand, that is from farther north, issues from a great cleft in the main or highest ridge, called in our maps the "*Sungow* Pass," but the "*Shangao* Pass" of MacGregor.

|| The word S'hwey also means "smooth," "not affording firm footing," and this, perhaps, might be the most applicable signification.

be described in the next Section. After issuing from the mountains at what, from its proximity to the town of Chaudh-Wa'án, is sometimes called the Chaudh-Wa'án *Kotal*, it passes south of the town, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands around. The people of the place have cut canals from it, and conducted the water into their masjids, dwellings, and gardens.

"The town of Chaudh-Wa'án is in the possession of Núr Muḥammad Khán, the present Sardár or Chief of the Bábars, who, with his tribe, is most loyal towards Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul; and, on this account, the Bábars are exempted from taxes and cesses, and are not required to furnish any contingent to the Bádsháh's army. Most of the tribe follow commercial pursuits; and among them are many wealthy merchants, and men of means."

The author of the Táríkh-i-Ḥusain Sháhí refers to this Sardár in his work, and was his contemporary, and knew him personally, in the reign of Sháh-i-Zamán. He says:—

"One of the three greatest of the Sardárs of Tímúr Sháh's reign was the Amín-ul-Mulk, Núr Muḥammad Khán, the Bábar. He held the office of Díwán-i-Kul Mamlakat, or Finance Minister, and was also the Controller of the Household Expenses. He gave a daughter in marriage to Sháh-i-Zamán; and, when the Bádsháh goes a journey, or is on the line of march, Núr Muḥammad sleeps near the tents of the Ḥaram with a body of his own trustworthy followers. He is a friend of the good and deserving, without inquiring or considering who their fathers are, or were; and takes care of the interests of his friends. The Durránís are rather inclined to look down upon him, because the Bábar tribe is but small in point of numbers.

"The Ghuláms in the service of the Durrání Bádsháhs amount to about 12,000 cavalry, the greater number of whom are Mughal Ḳazil-báshís, whom Aḥmad Sháh Durrání [not Nádir Sháh] removed from Í-rán [Khurásán] and settled at Kábul. Their descendants are now styled Kábulís and Pes'háwarís. A *dasta'h* or division of these troops is attached to, and in the pay and under the orders of, the Amín-ul-Mulk, Núr Muḥammad Khán."

The author of the Táríkh-i-Ḥusain Sháhí completed his history in the reign of Sháh-i-Zamán Bádsháh, in 1213 H. (1798–99 A.D.), which is a very valuable work, and is very interesting as following about ten years after the author of these surveys completed the account of his investigations. I now resume the account of the route.

"West of the town of Chaudh-Wa'án rises that lofty peak of the Koh-i-Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, called the Takht-i-Sulímán, or 'Soloman's Throne,' giving name to the whole of the stupendous range. The Afgháns style it Kesah-Ghar, and Kasí-Ghar, and also Shú-ál. It is a very lofty mountain, and on the summit of it is the place of pilgrimage, known to the Afghán people as the Ziárat [or Shrine, or Place of Pilgrimage] of the Patriarch, Sulímán, as will be subsequently noticed in another place. It shows itself from an immense distance, and its summit is generally clothed with snow.

"From the town of Chaudh-Wa'án to the Ziárat of Ḥaẓrat Sulímán, on its summit, is a distance of twenty-five kuroh, and the way thither is well known.* This great range of mountains intervenes between Ḳandahár and the Dera'h-ját, extending lengthways from the Dara'h of Khaibar and Jalál-ábád on the north, to Síwí and Ḍádar on the south, a distance of just three hundred kuroh, and in breadth, including its offshoots, one hundred kuroh. Within these limits, forming an extensive territory, there are numerous dara'hs and plateaus; and it was herein, but especially in the vicinity of, and around, Kasí-Ghar, or Shú-ál, that the Afghán tribes, according to their traditions, first took up their abode, and subsequently spread out in all directions.

"The limits above mentioned constitute *the* true Afghánistán; and it is to this tract, and to no other, that the earlier Musalmán chroniclers refer under that name.†

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* Nearly twenty years after the above account was written, Mr. Frazer, of the Bengal Civil Service, and Lieutenant Harris, of the Bengal Artillery, members of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone's mission, on the way to Pes'háwar, made an attempt to reach Kasí Ghar. They set out from Ḍrá-bhaṇ, provided with a guide by the chief of the Daulat Khel, 'Umar Khán, and made towards the mountains. "They found the north side "sloping, covered with fir trees, and abounding in rocks of a kind of pudding stone; there were many valleys "divided by narrow ridges, and each watered by a clear brook. So circuitous was the road by which they "travelled, that, after they had advanced about twelve miles, they found they were still three days' journey "from the top; they also learned that the upper part of the mountain was rendered inaccessible by the snow." This, and the departure of the mission, caused them to abandon the attempt.

† The author of the Taẕkirat-ul-Mulúk, an extract from which I gave in the Introduction to my Pus'hto Grammar, very correctly says, "Afghánistán extends from Kasí Ghar to the boundary of the Ḳandahár province "as constituted under the Ṣafawiyah dynasty."

"From the point named Tí-ráh, and from Kasí Ghar, giving name to the true Afghán country, where is the Ziárat, or Place of Pilgrimage, of Ḥazrat Sulímán, the mountains are very lofty, and snow constantly falls thereon. In the tracts which lie nearest to these, on the west, south, and east, and near to the territories of Pushang, Shál, Síwí, and the Dera'h-ját, water is very scarce, and, consequently, the cultivation is scanty, and the inhabitants are not numerous. In some parts of the tracts referred to, in the southern and south-western parts chiefly, some of the Balúch tribes dwell after the manner of *íláts* or nomads.

"To return to the description of the route. South of the town of Chaudh-Wa'án is a small river, known here by the name of Kálá Pání and Kaldaní, which issues from the mountains to the west, and is expended by the Bábaṛs in the irrigation of their lands. The Bábaṛs, of course, speak the Pus'hto language, but, through their proximity to the Balúch tribes, they use many Balúchí words.*

"Setting out from Chauḍh-Wa'án, you proceed twelve kuroh south, inclining south-east, to Rámak رامک†, the name of a deserted halting place in a dara'h, just within the mountain range of Koh-i-Surkh (referred to at page 5), which dara'h runs towards the west. Out of it a stream issues and flows towards the left hand (east); and by following its course you enter the country to the west. The pass is known as the Rámak *Kotal;* and the river takes its rise on the eastern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, and separates the Ush-taránís from the other Sheránís.‡

"From Rámak, the next stage is to Wahwá, a small town situated near the eastern skirt of the Koh-i-Surkh, under the sway of Massú Khán, the chief of the Balúch tribe of Nutkání. South§ of the place is a considerable river of never failing water, although it decreases considerably in the hot season, also called the river of Wahwá, and sometimes the Kálá Pání. It rises in the table land west of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, as has been previously stated (at page 7), runs to the east, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands.

"From Chauḍh-Wa'án to Wahwá, the country is uninhabited towards the mountains; and the Afgháns of the parts adjacent are in the habit of attacking and plundering travellers passing up and down. At Wahwá, likewise, the Balúchí and Panjábí languages are spoken, the Pus'hto or Afghán language being only used in the Dera'h-ját as far down as Chauḍh-Wa'án of the Bábaṛs.||

"Leaving Wahwá, and proceeding twenty-two kuroh to the south, inclining south-east, you reach Mangnoṭha'h, also written Mangroṭha'h, a good sized town, the seat of authority in the Sanghaṛ district, under the sway of, and the residence of, Massú Khán¶ before mentioned. On the way thither there is scarcity of water and inhabitants; and, in the hot season, the route is closed on this account, and travellers have to keep farther east. You can cross the Sanghaṛ river some three kuroh or more north of Mangnoṭha'h or Mangroṭha'h dry-shod. This river rises in the Kákaṛ territory, beyond the Koh-i-Siyah. It receives the waters of other tributaries before it leaves the mountains, after which it flows towards the east to the Sind.

"Leaving Mangroṭha'h, you go three kuroh south to Tsaukaṛ, also written Saukaṛ, a considerable village belonging to the before-mentioned Khán; and then another kuroh south-east to Gáḍí.** After this, you proceed a quarter kuroh farther in the direction of south, and reach a river dependent on rain, which is also called the Sanghaṛ, lying on the right hand, and is produced by the overflow of waters from the mountains after heavy rains. It flows towards the left hand (east); and its waters

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* As the Balúchís use Pus'hto words, through their neighbourhood to the Afgháns, and Sindí, through their proximity to Sind.

† Turned into "Rimmuk" in the maps. It is sometimes called Urmak by the transposition of the letters, thus—ارمك, but Rámak is the most correct.

‡ *See* also page 6.

§ This river now runs north of Wahwá.

|| The author must not be supposed to mean that Afgháns farther south do not speak Pus'hto: he means that there are no Afgháns lower down in the Dera'h-ját to speak it.

¶ When Masson was in this part, Asad Khán, Nutkání, a grandson of this Massú Khán, held Sanghaṛ. When Massú died, he was succeeded by his son, 'Alí Akbar Khán, after whose death civil strife arose between his sons, Lál Khán and Asad Khán, above mentioned. Asad was worsted, but after some time, Lál died, and Asad was reinstated in the chieftain-ship and possession of Sanghaṛ, but, shortly after, he had to succumb to the Sikhs.

Masson styles him "Assad" Khán, and says, "He was, I found, a Baloch by nation, and a stout well-"looking man of about forty-five years of age. He complained of the encroachments of the Síkhs, and "lamented he had not more powerful means to resist them."

** The place at present known as Gáḍí is rather more than five kuroh south-east of Saukaṛ, the "Sokar" of the maps.

become dispersed between the villages of Yulíání and Mak-wal, a distance of about twelve kuroh. The cultivators store the water for irrigation purposes in great ponds and pools, for which purpose they have constructed *bands* or embankments in all directions, and conducted it into their fields. Travellers generally proceed on their way along the *bands* referred to. After floods in the hills, some of the waters of the Sanghaṛ river find their way to the Sind (the Indus), a kuroh north of the Dera'h of Dín-Panáh.*

"After reaching the banks of the [last-named] Sanghaṛ river, you go four kuroh south-east, inclining east, to Mak-wal,† a large village belonging to the Jaṭs. The country from Wahwá to this place is under the rule of the before-mentioned Massú Khán. The next stage is four kuroh south to Amdán, also called Amdání, a village named after a Balúch clan, under the rule of Mírzá Khán, the Kazil-Básh, the Hákim or Governor of the province dependent on the Dera'h of Ghází Khán (referred to at page 3). In this direction are two rivers named Miṭhhí‡ and Mahúí respectively, two streams caused by the overflow of water from the hills after rains, which the people store by means of *bands* or embankments, as before mentioned, and expend in the irrigation of their fields. Leaving Amdán or Amdání, another kuroh south takes you to Shádan-Wálah Lund, and another kuroh south, inclining south-west, to Rind and Ghumman, two Balúch villages so called after tribes of that people. In this direction, likewise, there is a river called the Súrí, which, and the pass of that name, has been previously described (at page 10). After heavy rains in the mountains it becomes flooded; and the people store the water for irrigation purposes.

"From the last-named places you go on to the villages of Ẕáhir-Wálah and Rohilá, distant one kuroh and a half to the south; and the village of 'Álam Khán§ lies two kuroh distant on the left hand. You then continue onwards for a distance of one kuroh and a half south to Kálí dá Shahr,|| a place inhabited by Jaṭs; and the village of Rámman lies a quarter kuroh on the right hand as you proceed. Leaving Kálí dá Shahr, you go two kuroh south to Gajání, a village named after a Balúch clan, and then half a kuroh south, inclining south-west, to Mír dí Wastí. Another half a kuroh brings you to a cluster of villages styled Marlání, after the great Balúch tribe of that name;¶ and the village of Wiḍor lies eight kuroh to the south-west.

"A short distance south of Marlání are several small villages named Jhanjhan, after a Balúch clan; and the village of Shaikhání, also so called after a Balúch clan, lies distant about one kuroh on the left hand. Going on from Jhanjhan half a kuroh farther south, you reach the Jasrá. This is a large canal which they have cut from the Sind river, which comes from the left hand and runs to the right; and its waters are expended for irrigation purposes. It is, however, totally dry except during the inundation of the Sind in the hot season. Half a kuroh south of it is the village of Darwesh Khán dí Wastí, near by on the right hand. From thence you go half a kuroh east and reach the banks of the Mán ká, a deep canal, which has been cut from the Sind river six or seven kuroh distant on the left hand. It runs to the south-west towards Dájal Harand, also called Dájal Nahand; and, as a large amount of revenue accrues from the fertilizing influence of this canal, it is also called the Lakhí, or producer of *lakhs* of rúpís. It is quite dry, save during the inundation of the Sind river, but, then, it can only be crossed by means of a boat. The left-hand road, coming from the direction of Shaikhání, unites with the other at this point; and, having crossed the canal, a short distance to the south of it, you reach the Mázár (Tomb and Shrine) of Shaikh Ṣibrá, a famous place of pilgrimage.** East of it are several dwellings of his descendants, and east of them again, at some distance off, is a village known as Dalíl dí Wastí. From thence you next proceed three kuroh to the south, to the small village of Dá-ú dá Koṭ, so called after a Balúch clan. This village is distant five kuroh west of the Ṭáhalí Paṭan, or Ṭáhalí Ferry on the Sind river, which is one of the best known ferries of this district.†† The Kastúrí canal lies one kuroh distant on the left hand.

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* *See* page 8, Section First.

† Turned into "Mukwah" in the maps. At present, as now constituted, the Sanghaṛ *pargana'h* or district extends some miles farther south.

‡ "Mouza Mutti" of our maps.

§ Several places here mentioned are not now to be found. The Indus has encroached towards the west since these surveys were made.

|| "Kala" of the maps.

¶ *See* page 2.

** What appears in the map as "Rowza Suddurdeen (in ruins)."

†† The ferry appears in our maps, on the other side of the Sind or Indus, under the name of "Puttun Goojeerat."

From the afore-mentioned Koṭ you have to proceed one kuroh south to Bhaṭián Wálah, which place lies near by on the left hand, and by the way you skirt the Kastúrí canal, which runs in this direction, in two or three places. Then you go half a kuroh south to Shaikhání* [in one copy, Shaikhátí, and in another, Shanjádí], a village belonging to the Balúchís, and another, called Barhí,† lies near by on the left-hand side of the road. Another quarter kuroh south brings you to Farwál, also written Farwán, all the three places being named after as many Balúch clans. Continuing onwards from thence a quarter kuroh farther, you arrive opposite to Shethí dá Shahr, a large village at some distance away on the right-hand side of the route, and another half kuroh farther is Markonḍa'h, another large village, distant on the left hand. From this point you have to go three kuroh and a half south to Koṛyiá Lúnd dí Wastí, or "Koṛiyá Lúnḍ's village," and the date grove of the village of Shethí can be seen from this place. From Koṛiyá Lúnḍ dí Wastí, another half kuroh south, brings you to the town, the Dera'h of Ghází Khán:—

"From the Giṛa'í-i-Marwat to Wahwá the tract passed through is full of ascents and descents, rises and depressions; from Wahwá to Mangnoṭha'h or Mangroṭha'h there is scarcity of water, trees, and habitations; from the last-named place to Ẕáhir-Wála'h the cultivation depends on the water from the hill torrents for irrigation; and from Ẕáhir-Wála'h to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán water is abundant, and the habitations are numerous. The cultivation is from wells as well as from the rivers; and, during the inundation of the Sind river, this district, for a considerable distance from its banks, is under water."

Seventy-fifth Route. From Kábul to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán by way of Laka'í, and the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, a distance of three hundred kuroh, which route also leads to Multán.

"The route from Kábul to Laka'í, and from thence to the Giṛa'í-i-Marwat, has been described in the preceding. Setting out from the latter station, you proceed one kuroh and a half to the south, and reach the Paiṇzú, a river dependent on rain, which comes from the left hand and runs to the right towards Ṭák. It rises on the west face of the westernmost ridge of the Rátá Roh or Koh-i-Surkh, bounding the L'waṛga'í Dara'h‡ on the west. From thence you go on another kuroh and a half to the south, to Khwajzey Aoba'h, in Pus'hto signifying 'Sweet or Good Water,' another river depending on rain, which also comes from the left hand and runs to the right, and unites with the Paiṇzú. From thence (Khwajzey Aoba'h) you go on another kuroh to the east, and reach Tríkhey Aoba'h, the Pus'hto for 'Bitter Water,'§ another river dependent on rain, which also comes from the left hand, runs to the right, and unites with the Paiṇzú. Its water is bitter, hence its name. Another two kuroh south-east, inclining east, is another of these rain-dependent rivers, which comes from the left, and running to the right, unites with the afore-mentioned river.

"Having reached the banks of the Tríkhey Aoba'h, you go another two kuroh east, and reach the Dzamad‖ or Jamad, a considerable river containing water at all times. It comes from the left hand [the east], runs towards the right [the west], and in the direction of Ṭak-wára'h is expended in the irrigation of the lands. Setting out from the banks of the Jamad or Dzamad, you proceed in the direction of east, and reach Punḍ-yála'h¶, a large village, situated on the hill side, belonging to the Biluts

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* There are Balúch clans named Shikhání and Sabjání, but the MSS. are as above.

† "Burree" of the maps probably. Great changes have taken place likewise towards the banks of the Sind, from the Kastúrí canal down to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán.

‡ This is the "Lárgí" of MacGregor, and "Largee" of others. L'waṛ, in Pus'hto, signifies "high," "lofty," "raised," "elevated," etc., and the dara'h in question, which lies very high, is elevated in the middle, and slopes at either end, in the direction of N.E. and S.W., in which direction the drainage from the two ridges on either side runs out, hence some have supposed that it consists of two dara'hs. The particle *ga'í*, affixed to Afghán words, is used to lessen the importance of a word, and sometimes to convey contempt. *See* my Grammar, page 29.

§ This is made the "Turkoba Nala" in our maps, but it has nothing to do with the Turk, and certainly Turk does not mean bitter. The Khwajzey Aoba'h appears in the maps as the "*Pooranu Pyzoo* Nala," puráná, in Hindí, signifies "old," but the word is not used in Pus'hto.

‖ Our surveyors, it would seem, did not discover the real name of this river, for they style it the "*Kurunga* Nala" above the town, and the "*Largee* Nala" below. It is a different river from that mentioned at page 325, which see.

Here, too, vast changes have taken place in the courses of the rivers since these surveys were made. The Dzamad does not reach near Ṭak-wára'h now. *See* also note ‡, page 337.

¶ The Paniala of the maps.

clan of the Afgháns, on the extreme frontier of the Afghánistán in this direction.* To the east of the village is a high mountain range, the southern termination of the easternmost ridge of this portion of the Rátá Roh or Koh-i-Surkh, and, at the foot of it water percolates from several fissures, and diffuses itself, or is diffused, over the fields. The Dzamad or Jamad river flows below the village on its north side.

"From this place Sayyid-Wálah† is distant ten kuroh to the eastward, and Bilút, or Bilúts, fifteen kuroh. From Pund-yála'h eastwards and southwards the Pus'hto language ceases to be spoken."

The Biluts or Bilúts Afgháns.‡

"The Biluts section of the Prangí Lodís are of Sayyid descent, and consist of about 500 families. They dwell in the villages of Pund-yála'h and Bilúts or Biluts; and there are a few at Píplán, on the east side of the Sind, in the Mían-walí district. The other Afgháns of this territory greatly venerate them, and pay them much reverence and respect. They are exempt from taxes and tithes, forced labour, and the furnishing of any contingent to the Bádsháh's army.

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* This village lay in Elphinstone's route to Pes'háwar, but he was never at Laka'í, as some have assumed. He refers to Pund-yála'h, under the name of "Puneealla":—"Our camp was pitched near the village of "Puneealla, in a cheerful and beautiful spot, such as one would figure a scene in Arabia Felix. It was a "sandy valley, bounded by craggy hills, watered by a little stream, and interspersed with clumps of date trees. "The village itself stood in a deep grove of date trees, on the side of the hill, from which many streams gushed "through little caverns in the thickest part of the wood."

† Incorrectly styled "Sydoowalee" in the maps.

‡ As mentioned before in note †, page 317, the Pus'hto letter ځ "*ts*" is changed by a few tribes, especially by those of the Dámán, and by the Bannutsís, (whose Pus'hto is more vitiated than that of any other tribe) into ج "*j*" and چ "*ch*," which are common to the Hindí also; and this, perhaps, is owing to their proximity to, and constant contact with, the Hindí speaking Panjábí people, who including the Gakhars, Kathars, and others, do not realize the sound of the Pus'hto "*ts*." By these people, consequently, these Sayyid-zádahs would be styled Biluj, or Biluch, with short "*u*," instead of Biluts; and this fact appears to have caused some to rush to the conclusion that the word must be "Baloch" and "Baluch."

I find, in MacGregor's "Afghánistán," Part I., page 541, under the heading of "Paníalá," as he styles the village of Pund-yála'h, the following:—"The inhabitants are of the *Baluch* section of the Daolat Khel."

On the other hand, Hai'át Khán, the Kathar, in his book, entitled "Hai'át-i-Afghání," says, that the "Baluch," as he styles them, "is another small tribe of uncertain origin, sometimes asserting that they are of "the same descent as the Níází, and sometimes the same as the Daulat Khel," but that "they are not able, "except by their own statements, to furnish any proof of either of these assertions."

I will therefore give Hai'át Khán, Kathar, some information on the subject, and show him that there is no uncertainty in the matter, and that the Biluts are descended from the same common ancestor as the Níází, and the Daulat Khel likewise.

Instead of seven sons, whom Hai'át Khán assigns to Prangaey, son of Siánaey, son of Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-daey—on the authority of what he calls "the Makhzan-i-Afghání, *written by* Khán Jahán, Lodí, an Afghán "noble of the Court of Jahangír, of Dihlí, with the assistance of his Secretary, Ni'amat Ullah," which work, after styling it a tissue of falsehoods, he carefully copies and appropriates—Prangaey had nine sons, one of whom at least, if not two, was of Sayyid descent, and an adopted son, but whose descendants are still accounted Afgháns, as among other tribes. The eighth and ninth sons, or adopted sons, were Khaş-yúr, corrupted in course of time into Khasúr and Khassúr, and Biluts, the descendants of which latter, being of Sayyid descent, are, consequently, venerated by the other Afgháns. Such being their descent, the Biluts are, as they assert, descended from the same common ancestor as the Níází, namely Ibráhím Lo-daey; and, as the Daulat Khel are descended from Níázaey, the progenitor of the Níází, the Biluts are of the same descent as the Daulat Khel.

Hai'át Khán appears to imagine that the "Makhzan-i-Afgháni," which the Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodi, *did not write*, is the only work containing the history of the Afghán tribes, but in this he is much mistaken, for there are some works much older than Ni'amat Ullah's.

At Chúnár-Garh, in the Mírzá-púr district of the North-West Provinces, overlooking the Ganges, and outside that place, there is a noble mausoleum, known as that of Kásim, the Sulímání. He was born in 956 H. (1549 A.D.), and died in 1010 H. (1601 A.D.); and his grandson, the Shaikh, 'Abd-ur-Razzák, son of Imám-ud-Dín, that Pír's eldest son, is my authority respecting the Khaş-yúr and Biluts Afgháns, and a good deal more of Afghán history, which I hope, before long, will see the light. 'Abd-ur-Razzák was born on the 24th of Rajab, 1039 H. (1629 A.D.). This family was lineally descended from the Shaikh, 'Umar, the eldest son of Khálil, the progenitor of that tribe of Afgháns. Sulímání, it must be remembered, is a name by which the Afgháns are known as well as Rohilah.

'Abd-ur-Razzak wrote a history of the Afghán tribes, which is in my possession. It was written *several years before* the Makhzan-i-Afghání of Ni'amat Ullah, which was only finished in 1078 H. (1667–68 A.D.); and it is very evident that Ni'amat Ullah was unaware of it. The history of the Khas'his, which I have quoted in the Third Section of this work, was within just a century earlier.

The Biluts Afgháns are descended from Malik Mahmúd, son of Ahmad, son of Malik Sáhú, son of Ishák (not "Ashak") son of 'Umar, who was the brother (by adoption?) of Khaş-yúr, one of the nine sons of Prangaey, before referred to. Malik Mahmúd's brother, Malik Bahrám, who was the father of Malik Kálá, who was the father of *the first* Afghán ruler of Dihli—the very first of the Afghán race who attained sovereignty in Hindústán.

"After the Sikhs obtained sway over the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, a few years since, they advanced into the hill country in order to invade and appropriate some more of the Afghán territory, but, in the first encounter, they came in contact with the clan, and at their hands suffered a severe repulse; and the Sikhs took to flight, and have not since* ventured to invade the part in question.

"From Pund-yála'h you proceed a stage of seven kuroh in the direction of south, inclining south-east, to Pahar-púr, a considerable town, under the sway of Kamar-ud-Dín Khán, the Hakim or Governor of the district or province of Dera'h-i-Ismá'íl Khán. North of the town is the high mountain range, part of the Rátá Roh or Koh-i-Surkh, which runs northwards towards the junction of the river of Kurma'h with the Sind, and parallel to the west bank of the latter river. The first half of the way, coming from Pund-yála'h to this place, you pass through a very hilly tract, and the road is like the dry bed of a river, but after that, the *dasht* or barren plain commences. The people speak the Balúchí and Panj-ábí languages. The cultivation around Pahár-púr is carried on by means of wells.

"Setting out from the last-named place, you go two kuroh south to Dá'úd Sháh, a village on the right hand, near the road; and from thence another kuroh south-east to Kálá-Gúr, also lying on the right hand. At this place the road coming from the left hand, from Kálá-Bágh, unites with this one. From Kálá-Gúr you proceed one kuroh south-east, and reach a great *nahr* or canal coming from the left hand. It runs to the right, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands. Another two kuroh from the canal, in the same direction as before, brings you to Dahútar, also on the right-hand side of the road. On the left is a great watercourse, a minor branch of the Sind river, which is impassable without a boat; and on the other side is a large village called Kálrú, which is distant one kuroh from the Sind river. This watercourse, or minor branch of the Sind river, again unites with the main stream after passing near the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

"From Dahútar you proceed two kuroh in the direction of south-west to That-Thal, a small place on the left-hand side, near the road. On the right hand is another great watercourse. From the last-named place you next proceed three kuroh to the south-west, inclining south, to near the village of Mandrí,† half a kuroh on the right hand, on the other side of the river branch or watercourse before mentioned. The other road leading from Pahár-púr, also on the right-hand side, at this place unites with the road which has just been described. Leaving Mandrí, you go on to Daulat-púra'h,‡ distant one kuroh south, inclining south-east, on the left hand, and then another kuroh south to Megan, lying some distance off, on the right-hand side of the way. Another two kuroh south-west, inclining south, brings you to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khan; and on the way you meet with much water, many habitations, and numerous date groves.

"The other, or more direct road from Pahár-púr to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khan is fourteen kuroh, and it is well known. It goes by Sháh dá Kot, distant five kuroh south-west, inclining south, from Pahár-púr, and then another five kuroh in the same direction to Mandrí, previously referred to, where the roads unite.

"Having reached the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khan, you proceed from thence two kuroh and a half south-west to Maryálí, near the road on the right-hand side; and by the way you pass numbers of gardens and numerous date groves. Continuing onwards for another six kuroh to the south-west, inclining south, you come to Kúláchí, or, more correctly, Kúlánçní,§ so called after the Balúch tribe of that name; and you go on from thence one kuroh and a half south-west to Drá-bhan,‖ a large village belonging to the Balúchís, which must not be mistaken for the Núhární town near the foot of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, although it is spelt the same way. Half a kuroh farther south-west, inclining south, brings you to another Drá-bhan.¶ Both these villages are situated near by, on the right-hand side of the road. From thence you proceed one kuroh in the same direction as before to Lunda'h; and then two kuroh and a half, still in the same direction, to Khánâ, which lies near the road on the right-hand side. The village of Sálhún-Wálah lies seven kuroh distant on the left (the

* Up to the time the author wrote.
† "Mundra" of the maps.
‡ "Dowlutwala" of the maps.
§ The "Koolachi" of the maps, and "Kalaichee" of Masson.
‖ The "Chota Drabund" of the maps.
¶ See note §, page 327. There is no "Closed Pass" anywhere near this place, and yet it is spelt precisely like the other, and might equally as well be styled the "Closed Pass" as that referred to at that page.

east), and Chaudh-Wa'án, mentioned in the preceding route, eighteen kuroh on the right (the west). From Kháná to the Sind river is seven kuroh to the left, but the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán* is distant three kuroh from the river; and a small branch of the Sind flows half a kuroh to the east of that town.

"From Kháná you proceed two kuroh and a half to the south, to the large village of Parúdhah,† sometimes called Pardúhah; and from that place the village of Kahírí is distant seven kuroh to the south-east, and Bukhárá‡ of Husain, the Kirmání [in one copy Kirhání] is five kuroh to the east. Going on from Parúda'h for a distance of five kuroh south, inclining south-west, you reach Bhati-sar,§ and another four kuroh in the same direction brings you to Míran, which is a good-sized village, and the Sind river flows six kuroh distant on the right hand.‖ You then go on two kuroh farther in the same direction to Rammuk,¶ a large village situated on the boundary of the jurisdiction of the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán in this direction [at the period when the author wrote]. The water of the Sind river during the time of the inundations does not reach the part lying between the second Drá-bhan and the village of Rammuk, but lies away six or seven kuroh on the left hand.** The cultivation, therefore, depends upon the water brought down by the hill torrents after rains in the mountains to the west.

"From Rammuk you proceed half a kuroh south, with the Kot-i-Sháh Jamál†† lying distant from the road on the right hand, and the village of Ghamsán near by on the left. You next go three kuroh and a half farther south, and reach Chohnián,‡‡ to the south of which is the Wahwá Nadí, or Wahwá river, a river dependent on rain, but always containing water, the waters of which are drawn off for irrigation purposes. From thence you have to go three kuroh south, to Gádí, which lies distant from the road on the left hand; and then another kuroh farther south brings you to the Gharak, a considerable river dependent on rain, which issues from the Wahwá river, and, passing below the walls of the fort of Ghar-áng, unites with the Sind river.§§ The people have thrown up embankments in all directions in order to save the water, and use it in irrigating their lands. Having gone half a kuroh farther south, inclining south-east, you reach Ghar-áng, which is a good-sized town, and is the place of residence of Ghulám Muhammad Khán, Balúch, of the Kúlánchí tribe. The town of Wahwá lies nine kuroh distant on the right hand, near the skirt of the mountains, and the Sind river one kuroh to the left. The fort of Ghar-áng‖‖ is on the right-hand (west) side of the town as you come along.

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* The writer refers to the old town of Ismá'íl Khán, which was destroyed in 1823. I need scarcely mention that the name is not "*Ishmáil* Khán," for there is no "*sh*" in it. The place referred to by the author of these surveys was founded, as stated in note §, page 4, Section First. MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," page 474, says, "In 1469, Sultán Husén, Governor of Multán, made over the Indus frontier to a Baloch Malik, Sohráb, "who founded the towns of Derá Ishmáil Khán, Derá Fateh Khán, and Derá Ghází Khán, naming them after "his three sons," etc., etc. He is, however, very much mistaken, or his authorities are. There was no "Governor of Multán" called "Sultán Husén," but there was an independent sovereign of Multán and its territory, who received it from his father, Rai Sihrah, otherwise Sultán Kutb-ud-Dín, the Langáh, and transmitted the sovereignty to his descendants. His son, named Sultán Husain, who succeeded his father in 874 H. (1469–70, A.D.), bestowed grants of land on the Indus on a Balúch adventurer from Mukrán, who took service with him, who was of the Dúdá'í clan of the Hút tribe. He had no son named "Ghází Khán;" therefore "his "son," so called, did not found "Derá Ghází Khán," for that was founded by the Nawwáb, Ghází Khán, of the Marlání tribe of Balúchís, who are totally distinct from the Húts. [redacted] Sultán Husain, the Langáh, reigned thirty years over the Multán territory.

† "Puroha" of the maps.

‡ "Bookhara" of the maps.

§ "Khera Boolasur" in the maps.

‖ "Meerun" of the maps. The river flows much nearer at present, being not much more than half the distance, or five miles.

¶ This place is turned into "Rumuk" in the maps, while Rámak, in which the "*m*" is not doubled, is made into "Rimmuk."

** Rammuk too is now within half the distance.

†† Not to be found in the maps.

‡‡ "Chooni" of the maps.

§§ Here again great changes have taken place since these surveys were made. The Wahwá river, also called the Kálá Pání, and Ghar-áng Nadí, as mentioned at page 4 of Section First, now flows between five and six miles farther south than Chohnián, at the nearest point to it on the south-south-west. About six miles before it unites with the Indus it makes a bend, from a course nearly due west and east, to the south-east, and unites with the Indus about a mile and a half north of the fort of Ghar-áng. There is no river now known as the Gharak.

The Wahwá river is liable to sudden overflows, after heavy rains in the mountains, and then rushes down with violence, causing great damage.

‖‖ Consequently, "the strong fort of Girâng," which Edwardes ("A Year on the Panjab Frontier," Vol. I., p. 37) imagined was "built by the Sikhs," was not built by them, neither did the fort built by them "thenceforward give name to the district," because Ghar-áng, as the place is named, and its fort, are here mentioned in several places, some thirty years before the Sikhs obtained a footing therein. *See* page 4.

"Leaving Ghaṛ-áng, you go one kuroh south, inclining south-west, to Dá'úd Sháh di Wastí, near the road on the left-hand side; and then you go another two kuroh in the same direction, to Sháh dí Wastí, and two kuroh farther in the same direction to Babbí,* a village inhabited by Jats. From thence you proceed two kuroh and a half, still in the same direction, to Laṭ-ṛí,† and two kuroh more, in the same direction, to Tibbí, another village inhabited by Jaṭs,‡ situated on a sandy mound. From Ṛammuk to this place the country is under the sway of Ghulám Muḥammad Khán, Kúlánchí.

"Leaving this place, you continue to proceed for a distance of two kuroh south to Pehaṛ,§ a small village with a mud fort. From this place Wahwá is distant twelve kuroh on the right hand (west); the Sind river three kuroh on the left hand (east); and Layyá eight kuroh to the left, on the other side of the Sind; and on the way thither there is excess of *jangal*. From Pehaṛ you go on a kuroh and a half south, inclining south-east, to Malkání, a village so named after a clan or section of the Balúch tribe of Nutkání; then another kuroh south, inclining south-west, to Mulíání, lying on the right hand; and from thence three kuroh and a half, in the same direction, to Mulbání, both of which villages are also named after Balúch clans. From the last-named place another kuroh south brings you to Matílí,‖ which lies on the left hand, and is also named after a Balúch clan. Another two kuroh farther in the direction of south-west, inclining south, is Náṛí, a small place inhabited by Jaṭs; and, going from thence three kuroh and a half south-west, you reach the Sanghaṛ river, which is dependent on rain. It comes from the right hand, runs towards the left, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands.¶ One kuroh more from thence in the direction of south-west, and you reach the town of Mangnoṭha'h, or Mangroṭha'h; and from thence go on to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán, the remainder of the route to which town has been already described.

"From the village of Pehaṛ, the territory of Massú Khán, the chief of the Nutkánís, which is known as Sanghaṛ, commences. On the way onwards from thence you meet with much *jangal*, and scarcity of water. The cultivation depends on the water collected after rains in the mountains, which lie distant about ten or twelve kuroh on the right hand. The Sind river flows about six or seven kuroh on the left."

Seventy-sixth Route. From the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Chauḍh-Wa'án.

"From the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Chauḍh-Wa'án there are two routes. The left-hand one is as follows. Leaving the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, you proceed five kuroh in the direction of west, inclining a little to the north-west, to Gumul, the name by which several small villages are known, situated on the river of that name, which issues from the mountain tracts bounding the territory of Ghaznín on the east. From Gumul you go on three kuroh farther, in the direction of west, to Kahoiyán,** also the name of several villages, on the extreme boundary of the province dependent on the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

"Setting out from thence (Kahoiyán), you go four kuroh, in much the same direction as before, and reach the village of Ḍarbaṛí-Wálah Gaṛ,†† also known as Ḍarbaṛ-Gaṛ; and then two kuroh more in the same direction to Kalerí, after which another four kuroh in the same direction brings you to Kúlánchí, a town called after the Balúch tribe of that name. The mountain ranges of Koh-i-Surkh and the great range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah (described at page 5), lie near by on the

* "Rubbeh" of the maps. The "*r*" is probably an error for "*b*."

† "Litri" in the maps.

‡ Now belonging to the Lunḍ Balúchís.

§ "Pahur" of the maps.

‖ These four places do not appear in our maps: they have probably gone to decay, or their names have been changed.

¶ Here is another indication of the changes that have also taken place in this direction. The Sanghaṛ river now flows nearly five miles farther south, and passes immediately under the walls of the fort of Mangroṭha'h, passing also to the south of Toṇsá. It unites with the Indus just under the walls of the village of Langáh on the south side, and about a mile north of the Dera'h of Fatḥ Khán. *See* page 3, Section First.

At this time, between Náṛí and Mangroṭha'h, there is no river; for the river issuing from, and whose bed forms, the Kháṇwah pass (incorrectly called the "*Khouanah*" and "*Khaona*" by different writers, and in our maps), passes under Koṭ Khasrání, and, except on rare occasions, and after heavy rains, when it becomes flooded, merely skirts the direct road between Náṛí and Mangroṭha'h. It appears in our maps as the "Nae N." See page 8, Section First.

** "Khooee" in the maps.

†† Called "Durburi" in the maps, and "Dabra" by others.

west; and, on the way from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to this town, you pass numerous villages, and much cultivation. The road from this place to Chaudh-Wa'án has been already described.

"By the right-hand route from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán you go from thence to Kahoiyán, mentioned before in the left-hand route, and from that place to Búṭí dá Koṭ,* four kuroh distant in the direction of north-west, inclining west. From thence you proceed another four kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to Koṭ-i-'Ísá Khán, which is a large village. Next you go two kuroh, in the same direction, to the village of Aṭal dá Koṭ,† and another five kuroh in the direction of south-west brings you to Kúláṇchí. The remainder of the route from that town to Chaudh-Wa'án of the Bábaṛs has been previously described."

Seventy-seventh Route. From Paháṛ-púr to Chaudh-Wa'án.

"Setting out from Paháṛ-púr, you proceed twelve kuroh west to Ṭak-wárah, a large village, or rather cluster of villages, belonging to the Afghán clan of Gandah-púr Úsh-taránís, which is also known as Gandah-púr after them. It is under the sway of Azád Khán, the Sardár of this clan, whose place of residence is Kúláṇchí. Ṭak-wárah is situated on a river dependent on rain, known as the Dzamad or Jamad, previously referred to;‡ and the village of Wihdar lies about one kuroh on the left hand. The tract passed through on the way is rough, and contains many ups and downs.

"From the last-named place you go one kuroh to the south, and reach another river dependent on rain, running on the right hand. It comes from the direction of Ṭak-wárah, and, running towards the left, is expended in the irrigation of the lands.§

"From this point you proceed four kuroh to the south, to Budh,‖ and then another two kuroh south, inclining south-west, to Koṭ-i-'Ísá Khán, mentioned in the preceding route, situated on the banks of the Gumul. From this place to Kúláṇchí, and from that town to Chaudh-Wa'án, the road has been before described. On the way you meet with much rough ground, and many ascents and descents."

Seventy-eighth Route. From Kábul to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán by way of Bázár-i-Aḥmad Khán, the chief town of Bannú, and to Ṭák, a distance of two hundred and sixty kuroh.

"The route from Kábul to Bázár-i-Aḥmad Khán has been already given (at page 80). From the last-named town you proceed eight kuroh south, inclining south-east, to Wallí, a place of abode of the *ilát* or nomad Marwats. By the way there is scarcity of water; and the country is rough and undulating, with many elevations and depressions. Continuing onwards from thence for a distance of six kuroh in the same direction as before, you reach the Gamílá or Gamíla'h¶ river, the water in which never fails. It comes down from the mountains on the right hand, and runs to the left towards Laka'í. From that point you go two kuroh south, and reach Kalaey-i-Bázíd Khán—'Bázíd Khán's Village'—which is peopled by the Marwat tribe; and the country passed through is much the same as before described. The next stage is eight kuroh south to Ṭák; and on the road there is great scarcity of water, and the country is rough and hilly. The route from Ṭák to the Dera'h of Ghází Khán has been before described.

"This route likewise leads to Káṟní-Grám, which lies three *manzils* or stages to the right hand [the west], inclining a little to the north-west, from Ṭák."

Seventy-ninth Route. From Multán to Kábul by way of Layyá and the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, a distance of near upon three hundred kuroh.

"Setting out from the city of Multán by the Láhorí gate, and passing through the *maḥalla'h* or quarter of the suburbs known as the Maḥalla'h of Koṭ-i-Túlí Khán, you

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* Turned into "Potha," in the maps.

† "Utul" in the maps.

‡ The name of this river has been previously mentioned. *See* note ‖, page 332.

§ Here, too, vast changes have occurred. Ṭak-wárah is now watered by a stream formed by several others rising in the mountains to the north and north-west, which unite a few miles north-west of that place. The other river dependent on rain, one kuroh to the south, still exists, and runs towards Budh, some miles north-west of which other watercourses unite with it.

‖ "Boodh" of the maps.

¶ Also called and written Ganbíla'h and Gambíla'h, "*n*" being often used in place of "*m*," and *vice versâ*.

go on for a distance of five kuroh north-west, and reach the banks of the river Chín-áb. Having crossed over at the ferry by means of a boat, you go one kuroh in the same direction, and reach Pakká or Pakka'h Sandíla'h, a large village in the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h; and the ferry is known as the Sandíla'h Paṭan. The territory of the Nawwáb, Muzaffar Khán, Sadozí,* ruler of the territory of Multán, terminates at Sandíla'h. The Ráj Ghát, another ferry over the Chín-áb, lies about two kuroh on the left hand.

"From Sandíla'h you proceed twelve kuroh west, inclining north-west, to Kháe, which is a large village under the sway of Muhammadú-Khán, Balúch; and by the way you pass through a great sandy waste, in which there is great scarcity of water. This *dasht* or desert they style the Chúl-i-Jalálí in the Fársí idiom, but, in the idiom of the people of the Panj-áb, it is called by the Hindí name of *Thal*, which I will here describe."

The Chúl-i-Jalálí, or The Thal.

"This great tract extends from near Makhad on the north, to Úchchh-i-Sharíf, or Úchchh-i-Jalálí, on the south, about two hundred kuroh in length; and from the Wihat or Jhilam river on the east, to the Abáe-Sin, which is known as 'the Sind,' on the west, about fifty kuroh in breadth. It is called the Chúl-i-Jalálí by Muḥammadan writers after the feat performed by the gallant Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh, who, after his handful of troops, which had kept the whole Mughal host, led by the Chingiz Khán, at bay for some hours, had been overwhelmed, plunged on horseback into the Abáe-Sin, as related in the chronicles of this period.† It is peopled chiefly by Balúchís, who came hither in the time of the Langáh rulers of Multán,‡ and some of the Awán-Kár tribe, but, in former times, the chief portion of it was held by the very powerful tribe of Khokhar, of the Jaṭ race, but not to be mistaken for Gakhaṛs, who are a totally distinct people.

"For a distance of about one kuroh more or less along the banks of both rivers this tract is well peopled, and is exceedingly productive. Towards the west, known as Layyá, Bhakhar, and Daryá Khán, they have cut deep canals from the Sind river, and rice and wheat are produced, but the latter in the greatest proportion. Such parts as the waters of the Sind do not reach, consisting of very sandy tracts, are cultivated by means of wells, and *bájrá* (*holcus spicatus*), *jowár* (*holcus sorgum*) *múthh* (lentils), wheat, and barley, are grown. In former times the revenue was assessed under the system called '*cháh-bandí*,' or, according to the number of wells, which were rated at from ten to twenty rúpís each well yearly, but, at the present time, the assessment is according to the system termed '*dána'h-bandí*,' whereby the government, or ruler, receives a certain share of the crop.

"The Sardárs and Zamíndárs of this part having drank of the water of independence and unrestraint, do not bend their necks to any one's authority, with the exception of a few Sardárs of the Balúch tribes, such as Muḥammadú Khán, before mentioned, who, with hands uplifted (submissively), renders obedience to Tímúr Sháh, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul, and pays a small sum yearly by way of *'ushr* or a tenth. Others of the Balúch Sardárs, and some of the Awán-Kár, who dwell in the direction of Khúsh-áb, adjoining the Sikhs, pay a little money in cash by way of *rakhí*, that is to say, *ḥifáẓat-i-mulk* [protection of country],§ to Ran-jít Singh, the Sikh, son of Mahá Singh, and are masters within their own districts.

"To return to the description of the route. Leaving Kháe, you next proceed twelve kuroh west, inclining north-west, to Addhú dá Koṭ;‖ and, by the way, you pass through the same sandy desert tract in which water is scarce. Your next stage of four kuroh north, inclining a little to the north-west, is to the Dá'írah-i-Dín-Panáh,¶ a great Khánḳah or chapel, containing the *mazár* [tomb and shrine] of a Muḥammadan saint;

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* I shall have to refer more fully to Multán and its rulers in the next and concluding Section of these "Notes."

† *See* the notes on this subject in the account of the Eighty-sixth Route farther on, and my translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 291.

‡ *See* note *, page 335.

§ Rakhí is the term particularly used to signify a tribute paid to a Sikh chieftain for protection, from *rakhná*, the verb, to keep, preserve, etc. Other Sikh chiefs, besides Ran-jít, thus gave their protection for a small yearly sum of money. Mahá (not "Muha," as most people write it) Singh died in 1792, a short time after these surveys were made; and his son, Ran-jít, afterwards the Mahá-rájah, was then rising into notice.

‖ Not "Oodoo Kee Kote," as in Edwardes' book.

¶ This place appears in the Indian Atlas map as "Dairah" merely; and Edwardes, and others, style it "Dera Deen Punnah." [redacted]

and over the shrine there is a lofty dome. The tract of country passed through is of the same description as before. The Sind river flows between three and four kuroh on the left hand (the west); and in that direction, likewise, are numerous villages and much cultivation, and canals and wells, while on the right-hand side is desert and sand, scarcity of water, and paucity of inhabitants and villages, hence the great length of the different stages.* From the Dá'írah-i-Dín-Panáh you proceed eighteen kuroh to Layyá,† a large town, and the place of residence of the before-mentioned Muhammadú Khán, the Jaskání. On the west side of this town there is a large canal cut from the Sind river, and brought into the cultivated lands. In the cold season, they raise *bands* or embankments on the water of this canal for irrigation purposes, and erect water-wheels to conduct the water into their fields, and these, when the inundation begins, in the hot season, are set going.

" Leaving Layyá, you proceed four kuroh to the north to Noh-shahra'h. This also is a large village, and the before-mentioned canal runs on the left of it. From this village you go two kuroh farther to Úlak, then to Rájah-sar, distant three kuroh; and after proceeding two kuroh farther, the direction being still north, you reach Sargání, a village named after a Balúch clan. Another two kuroh, in the same direction, brings you to Karúr of La'l 'Ísá‡ Sháh, a town of some size, situated on the canal

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* This tract is much better cultivated and more populous at the present time.

† The name of this place is generally written "Leia," and never correctly. The above is the proper way, and as given in the original with the vowel points, as the people write it whatever the "system" may be.

Layyá was the scene of a tragedy in the time of Sháh-i-Zamán, Durrání, subsequent to the time these surveys were made. Prince Humáyún, the Sháh's brother, having rebelled and been defeated, took to the hills between Kal'át-i-Náṣir and the Indus. Sháh-i-Zamán, after his flight, again turned his attention to a campaign east of the Indus against the Sikhs; and in 1210 H. (1795–96 A.D.), set out from Kábul, crossed the river by a bridge of boats at Aṭak, and advanced to Ḥasan-i-Abdál and the vicinity of Ruhtás. From thence he detached a force of about 7,000 cavalry under Aḥmad Khán, Bárakzí, the Sháhanchí-Báshí, and other Sardárs, southward, to take possession of the Do-ábah between the Jhilam and the Chín-áb. It so happened, that, at this time, Prince Ḥumáyún had come out of the hills, with the object of gaining Kash-mír by way of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and had halted in the neighbourhood of the ḳaṣbah of Layyá; and along with him were about one hundred horsemen, all Afghán Sardárs or their sons. His own son, Sulṭán Aḥmad by name, a youth of great personal beauty and promise, just springing into manhood, who, previously, had been the means of saving the life of the little Prince, Sulṭán Ḳaiṣar, son of Sháh-i-Zamán, was also with him. They were assembled under a great tree, and had disguised themselves as well as their circumstances would allow.

Sháh-i-Zamán had issued strict orders to all the frontier authorities to endeavour to secure the fugitive. Muḥammad Khán, Sadozí, a brave and intrepid young man, who held the government of the Layyá district, obtained information of the whereabouts of the party, and proceeded to endeavour to secure the person of Humáyún. Taking with him a body of 500 horse, he proceeded to the spot where they had halted. He first invited the Prince to enter the town, and take up his quarters there for a time, that he might show him the attention due to his rank, but Humáyún, from the tone of his voice, and the number of men with him, knew he was acting deceitfully. The horses of his small party were still saddled, and they themselves still armed, and, therefore, they resolved to resist. They fought bravely until most of them were either killed or wounded, and, among the former, was the young Prince, Sulṭán Aḥmad, who was struck by a bullet, and fell dead from his horse. Humáyún, beholding the fate of the son whom he adored, threw himself from his horse, and hung over the body, uttering the most heart-rending lamentations; on which, Muḥammad Khán, and his followers, drawing nearer, the former approached Humáyún, and took him in his arms, thus securing him. He was then taken to Layyá, and news of his capture sent to Sháh-i-Zamán. Ḥasan Khán, Ḳazil-Básh, who was the Sháh's Pesh-Khidmat, was despatched, with orders to deprive Humáyún of his sight, after which he was to be placed in a *pálkí*, and taken to Kábul to be immured in the Bálá-Ḥiṣár along with the other Princes, the brothers of the Sháh. This having been done, Ḥasan Khán returned to the Sháh's camp at Ḥasan-i-Abdál. Almost immediately after, the Sháh had to abandon the expedition against the Sikhs, and march back to crush an outbreak at Herát, raised by his other brother, Maḥmúd.

The author of the Fawá'íd-i-Ṣafawíyah, Abú-l-Ḥasan, the Kazwíní, who is very hostile towards Sháh-i-Zamán, and gives him a much worse character than he deserves, says, that Ḥasan Khán, the Khurásání Í-rání, was sent to deprive Humáyún of his sight, "because no other rascal would undertake it." He adds that, from information which he received from a friend from that quarter, he was told that, when Prince Humáyún heard that Ḥasan Khán had been sent to deprive him of his sight, he drew a knife from his girdle and destroyed his own eyesight.

It is a rather curious coincidence that two princes, who rebelled against their brothers and sovereigns, should have been deprived of their sight in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and that, in each instance, the name Humáyún should occur. Kámrán Mírzá, the rebellious brother of Humáyún Bádsháh, was betrayed by a petty Gakhaṛ chief, and blinded near Parh-álah, and Prince Humáyún, brother of Sháh-i-Zamán, blinded at Layyá, as above related.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, previously mentioned at page 36, when returning to Hindústán from Kábul about ten years before these surveys were made, crossed the Chúl-i-Jalálí from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Baháwal-púr. He halted at Layyá on his way. He says, "It is a large town, 12 kurohs south from "Pír Ṣáḥib, built of unburnt bricks and mud mortar."

‡ But not "*Eesan*" as in the maps. La'l Í'sá *Sháh*, like the so-called "King of Swat," was only a Sayyid, as indicated by his name.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, calls this place Pír Ṣáḥib (the shrine of the Pír Ṣáḥib or Saint), and says, "It is the name of a tomb and shrine, and, therefore, the town which has sprung up around it bears the same "name. It is a large town, and the tomb is within a lofty building. The buildings of the bázár are of burnt "brick, but the houses are of mud mortar, or unburnt brick. Pír Ṣáḥib is distant twelve *kos* north of "Layyá," and is quite a different place from that mentioned in the next page.

before referred to;* and, on the way to it, this canal lies on the left hand, and on the right is the great desert tract. Setting out from Karúr, you proceed three kuroh to Ṭibíán, and three farther to Jhargal. Then you go five kuroh more and reach Pehal;† and then on to Nútak,‡ the ancient seat of the Nútkání, or, more correctly, Nútakání, Balúch tribe.§

"Setting out from Nútak, you have to go two kuroh to Chhiní,‖ and a similar distance to Pír Ṣáhib, after which you go another five kuroh and reach the large town of Bhakhar.¶ On the way thither are numerous villages, and much cultivation; and the canal of Layyá runs near by on the left hand.** The distance from Layyá to Karúr of La'l 'Ísá Sháh is fifteen kuroh, and from it to Bhakhar, twenty-five; and, the direction is to the north.

"The Balúch inhabitants in this Do-ábah number near upon 100,000 families, who are divided into many sections, and numerous lesser branches. The chieftain-ship over this part centres in the family of the Jaskání, who, in ancient times, were subject to the family of the Laṭián, who were *Wális* of Sind.†† At the present time, Muḥammadú Khán, the Jaskání, owns allegiance to the Durrání sovereign of Kábul, and pays 40,000 rúpís into his treasury as *'ushr* or tithe. In case of a war with Hindú-stán he has to furnish a Balúch contingent of 2,000 cavalry and infantry to the Bádsháh's army."

The other tribes of this Do-ábah, not dwelling within the limits of the present route, need not be noticed here.

To return to the route.

"At Bhakhar, two roads diverge. The left-hand one is as follows:—Having passed the Abáe-Sín west of Bhakhar by means of a boat, you proceed one kuroh, and reach the second branch of the great river. This you also cross by boat, and, having proceeded four kuroh in the direction of north-west, arrive at the third branch.‡‡ After crossing this by boat also, you have to go another kuroh in the same direction, and reach the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

"This is a large town [called a city by most native writers] possessing many large and lofty buildings, and a large bázár. It is the seat of authority of the Balúch chief of the tribe of Húṭ,§§ and is distant from Bhakhar twelve kuroh. In the hot season, when the river rises, the whole distance from near the last-named town to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán is inundated, and you have to go the whole distance by boat.

"From the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Kábul there are three well known routes. The left-hand route is called the Ghwi-larí, and also the Ghwey-larí route [subsequently to be described];‖‖ the middle one goes by Marwat and Bannú, and is exceedingly difficult;¶¶ and the right-hand route, which goes by Pes'háwar, is as follows:—

"Leaving the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, you proceed two kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north, to Maigan, lying on the left hand, at a distance from the

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* There is no canal now nearer than two miles west of Karúr of La'l 'Ísá Sháh, and that is called the Múrhan Nálá. The features of the country round show that considerable changes have taken place here too, and also show the former course of the canal above referred to.

† Ghulám Muḥammad says, "It is twelve *kos* south-east from Bhakhar, and is a fort (or fortified or walled "place) upon a mound, and there is a sandy tract all round it. The Governor of the place is a Durrání, placed "there by Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul." It is the *Behul* of the maps.

‡ Nútak is correct, not "*Notuk*" as in the maps.

§ *See* page 3, Section First.

‖ "Cheena" of the maps.

¶ Spelt invariably wrong in the maps, and thus turned into "*Bukkur*." The name of this place is precisely the same as that opposite Ṛúṛhí in Sind.

Ghulám Muḥammad halted here on his journey. He says, "It is an old town, built of unburnt bricks. The "Governor of the place is Hai'át Khán, Balúch. The Layyá district is a sandy tract of country, but it has "sweet and pure water in many places. The chiefs of the district are also of the Balúch nation."

** The direction of it can be traced here likewise, but the canal no longer exists. What is now called the Dáe-wálah has taken its place.

†† I shall have to refer to these again in the next Section.

‡‡ Here, too, vast changes have taken place. The nearest branch, and that but a very small one, is now five miles away from Bhakhar; the second does not exist, for the main branch now contains numbers of channels, but on the way from this place to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, at the Paṭan or Ferry, it unites into one channel, and that in no less than between eleven or twelve miles from Bhakhar. No other intervenes between the main stream and the present Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, while the old town lay nearer the Indus banks. Constant changes are taking place in its course to a greater or less degree; and it was its encroachments to the westward which destroyed the old town, and changed what the author of these surveys above describes.

§§ For further information respecting the Balúch tribes of this part, and their history, *see* pages 3 and 4.

‖‖ *See* page 5, Section First. It is sometimes spelt Ghwalírí, but it is very evident that the last syllable of this word is from *lár*, the Pus'hto for road, shortened as I shall show in the next Section.

¶¶ See the Seventy-third and Seventy-fourth Routes.

road; and by the way you meet with canals, many date groves, and much cultivation. You then continue onwards for another kuroh north to Daulat-púra'h,* which lies near by on the right hand, and two and a half kuroh farther north, inclining north-west, to Mandrey.† Half a kuroh farther on, to the left, there is a little canal cut from the Sind river for purposes of irrigation. From the last-named village you go three kuroh north, inclining north-east, and reach That-Thal (referred to in a previous route) which is situated near by on the right hand. Here two roads diverge. One, the right-hand road, leads to Dahútar, and the left one to Kálá-Gúr, a small village lying on the right-hand side of the road, distant four kuroh to the north, inclining north-west; and the canal before mentioned passes near to That-Thal. Here also two roads branch off. The left-hand one leads by Pahár-púr into Marwat and Bannú: by the right-hand one you proceed one kuroh and a half north to Rang-púr, and then two kuroh more in the direction of north, inclining north-west, to Káṭhh-gar,‡ a small village lying at the foot of the mountain range, the easternmost of the two ridges of the Ráta Roh or Koh-i-Surkh, which run up parallel to the west bank of the Abáe-Sín from this point towards the place of junction of the river of Kurma'h with the great river; and on the right hand is some rough ground, consisting of low hills, and bluffs, and outlying spurs from the mountains referred to above. From Káṭhh-gar you proceed four kuroh, in the direction of north-east, to the village of Bágh Wálí; and the mountain range on the left-hand side rises near by, but the Sind river flows on the right hand distant some six or seven kuroh.§ From this place you go on for a distance of a kuroh and a half north-east to Koṭla'h; and on the left-hand side, situated on a slope of the mountains, is a large village named Sayyid-Wálah,‖ and distant from Koṭla'h about a kuroh and a half. After leaving Koṭla'h, and continuing onward in the direction of north for one kuroh, you reach a small village called Dhakí;¶ and here the Dera'h-ját terminates, and the Afghán country commences. You next go two kuroh north to Koṭ-i-Káfirán, a large village belonging to Sayyids, and in the possession of Ghulám Sháh, the Sayyid. The Sind river flows about three or four kuroh distant on the right hand;** and the mountain range, before alluded to, rises close by on the left. From thence you go another kuroh north to Bilút,†† but, correctly, Biluts, or Bilúts, built on a ridge of the mountains, and likewise inhabited by Sayyids of Afghán descent—the Biluts—after whom the place takes its name. At this place is the *mazár* [the tomb and shrine], of Sháh 'Isá.‡‡ The village lies at some distance from the road on the left-hand side. You next proceed two kuroh to the north, to Shínkaey, a village situated on a hill, on the left-hand side of the road, but at an interval from it. It is in the possession of Sher Khán, of the Afghán tribe of Khassúr,§§ whose territory commences here. From thence you continue onwards for another half a kuroh farther north, and reach Khassúr itself, which is a large village, named after the Afghán tribe before mentioned. It is situated on the slope of the mountains, on the left-hand side, but at some distance from the road. From the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to this place is a distance of twenty-seven kuroh; and the road is well known."

The Khassúr Tribe of Afgháns.

"The Khassúr tribe of Afgháns are of the Matí division of that nation, being descended from Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-e daey ‖‖ [*i.e.*, he is the greatest or superior],

* "Dowlatwala" in the maps.

† "Mandra" of the maps.

‡ Turned into "Katgurh" in the maps.

§ Here again vast changes have taken place. The main branch of the river is not much more than a couple of kuroh distant now; and, a few miles above, it has approached close to the mountains.

‖ "Sydoowalee" in the maps.

¶ "Dhukee" of the maps.

** The river now flows just below it. By some it is considered an old site.

†† "Billote" of the maps. The father of Sulṭán Bahlúl, the first Afghán who sat on the throne of Dihlí, Bahrám by name, and brother of Sulṭán Sháh, of the Sháhú Khel clan, of the Lúdí tribe, who received the title of Islám Khán from the Sayyid, Khiẓr Khán, ruler of Dihlí, came originally from the neighbourhood of Bilúts, or Biluts. The Bilúts *maḥáll* is mentioned in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí; and its inhabitants, the Bilúts, or Biluts, are set down as being able to furnish 100 horsemen, and 1,000 foot, for militia purposes.

According to the latest Panj-áb Revenue Survey map, one of the two main branches of the Indus flows, at present, close under the walls of the village.

‡‡ Not a sovereign, but a Sayyid, like the so-called "King of Swát."

§§ Neither this place, nor the Afgháns who inhabit it, are called "*Khasor*," nor "*Khyssore*." In the maps it is styled "*Khusore*," and "*Keeree Khusore*," neither of which is correct. Here "*keeree*," meant for *gira'í*, is also intended to mean a place of encampment or habitation, and is correct, except in the mode of spelling. *See* page 325, note *.

‖‖ From constant use the word is now generally pronounced and written Lúdí, but Lo-dí or Lo-e dí, in the plural, as applied to the tribe collectively, is correct in Pus'hto, and Lo-daey or Lo-e daey in the singular. The feminine form is Lo-da'í or Lo-e da'í, both singular and plural.

son of Bíbí Mato, the daughter of Baiṭnaey, known for his sanctity as Shaikh Baiṭ, by Husain, a son of one of the brothers of the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrí chiefs* [contemporary with Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf, the Sakífí, Amír of the eastern parts of Islám under the Khalífahs, whose deputies invaded Khurásán and Ghúr], who took refuge among the Afgháns in their early seats west of, and in the vicinity of, the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah.

"Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-e daey, had a son named Síánaey, who had two sons, one of whom was named Prangaey, who had nine sons, one of whom was named Khaṣ-yúr, afterwards corrupted by constant use into Khassúr."

Persons unacquainted with the subject of Afghán descent and the genealogy of that people, and who make a distinction between Afgháns and "Pathans," when none exists, have supposed that the Khassúr tribe are "Lohánis." One writer goes so far as to state that they claim to be "descended from the Loháni." It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the Núḥárnís, also called "Lúḥárnís (some Afghán tribes substituting '*l*' for '*n*') deny this, for it is incorrect. They claim to be descended from Síánaey, who is also the ancestor of the Núḥárnís in the second degree (*i.e.* the grandfather), and in this they are right.†

At the time these surveys were made the Khassúr tribe numbered between 6,000 and 7,000 families, but they are now considerably weakened.

The Khassúr tribe referred to in these routes dwell in the mountain tract immediately west of the Sind or Indus, the northernmost part of the Rátá Roh or Koh-i-Surkh, which runs parallel to it, in the direction of south-west, from the point of junction of the river of Kurma'h with the Sind, and bounds the Dera'h-ját on the north-east. When these surveys were made the village of Khassúr, or, more correctly, the village of the Khassúr clan, was between five and six miles from the banks of the Sind, but, at the present time, it is not more than two,‡ thus showing what changes have taken place during the present century, and the encroachments of the mighty river towards the west.

To return to the description of the route.

"Setting out from the village of Khassúr, you proceed half a kuroh north, and reach another village named Shín-kaey,§ which is also built on a hill on the left-hand side, but away from the road; and from thence you go on to 'Umar Khel,‖ distant a kuroh and a half farther on in the direction of north-east, then another two kuroh, still in the direction of north-east, to Sarí, half a kuroh in the same direction to Jindá or Jinda'h,¶ and three kuroh to Sílam, the last place on this route belonging to the Khassúr clan; and here Sher Khán's territory terminates. From this place you proceed another two kuroh in the direction of north, passing out of the boundary of the Khassúr clan, to Kappí, a place inhabited by the Afgháns of the 'Ísá Khel; and the Sind river flows about half a kuroh distant on the right hand. From thence going two kuroh farther north, you reach the banks of the river of Kurma'h, which

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* A more detailed account of his descendants will be found in the next Section, and at page 62, Section First.

† Under the heading of "Khasor," in his "Central Asia," Part 1, Vol. 11, page 147, MacGregor says they are "a tribe who live in the Khasor hills, in the Dera Ishmáíl district. They say themselves they are descended "from the Lohání, but this is denied."

Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, on the contrary, says, in his book, that "according to their own account they "claim to be of the same lineage as the Lodí, but the clans or sections of the Lodís deny their connection, and "assign them some other origin."

The first statement appears to have been taken from the translation of Hai'át Khán's book, but was misunderstood; for the translation merely states that they claim "kinship with the Lodí." Here too, the account given of themselves by the Khaṣ-yúr or Khassúr Afgháns has been misunderstood, and also that of other Lodís. They do not pretend that they are Núḥárnís, but they are Lodís, for they are descended from a son of Prangaey, as stated in a previous note, who was Ibráhím Lo-daey's grandson, while the Núḥárnís are descended from Núḥárnaey, son of Ismá'íl, another grandson of Lo-daey, and thus the Khaṣ-yúrs are descended from an older branch than the so-called "Lohánis." Consequently, the account they give of themselves is perfectly correct.

In the same way there are no hills called "the Khasor hills," but the hills in the tract of country occupied by the Khassúr Lodís are sometimes called "the hills *of* the Khassúr Afgháns."

‡ In 1866, when the Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 15, was published, this place was rather less than two miles from the main channel of the Indus, but, in 1873, it was between eight and nine miles distant from it. At this moment, it is even less than a mile distant; and the next hot season inundation may change all again.

§ "Shunkee" and "Shinki" of our maps. Shín-kaey now is less than a mile from the westernmost of the two main branches of the Indus, and a small branch flows close to it.

‖ Styled "Omar Kheyl" in the maps.

¶ In one copy of the original the name is written Chinda'h.

comes from the left hand, and flows to the right, and unites with the Sind. One kuroh farther north is Ṭiṭa'í, or Títa'í Mena'h,* which, in ancient times, was the chief place, and seat of government, of the 'Ísá Khel, but is now utterly desolate. The river of Kurma'h flows below the desolate town on the south-west.† At this place, near the river, are three or four villages belonging to the 'Ísá Khel."

The 'Ísá Khel Afghans.

"The 'Ísá Khel are Matís like the Khaṣ-yúr or Khassúr Afgháns, but of a different branch, being a section of the Níází tribe, and consist of about 4,000 families, who dwell along the banks of the Sind after the manner of nomads.‡ They pay about 1,000 rúpís yearly to Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Bádsháh of Kábul, by way of *'ushr* or a tenth, and have to furnish a small contingent to the Bádsháh's army."

It will be well to give some account of the Níázís, of which tribe the 'Ísá Khel are a branch, as it will tend to correct many grave errors in history and geography.§ The formerly numerous tribe of Níází, during the sovereignty of the Afghán dynasties of Lodí, or Lúdí, and Súr, made a great figure in Hindústán and the Panj-áb, but, at present, among their own people, they are considered the most abject of the Afgháns.

An account of the Níází tribe and its branches is contained in the Táríkh-i-Khán Jahání, known also as the Makhzan-i-Afghání of Haibat Khán, the Kákar. This work was completed on the 10th of Ẕí-Hijjah—the last month—of 1021 H. (February, 1613 A.D.), at the command (as it is stated in some copies, but not in all) of the Nawwáb, Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodí, who, by a special ordinance of Núr-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Jahán-gír Bádsháh, was entitled by him *farzand* or son.|| The work appears to have been again edited and revised by the Khwájah, Ni'amat-Ullah, for a copy which I have, previous to giving a short account of Haibat Khán's ancestry, says, that "the draft of this book, and the final transcript and correction "of this Khán Jahánián Táríkh, celebrated as the Makhzan-i-Afghání, was finished "on the 25th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal—the fifth month—1090 H. (June, 1679 A.D.),¶ in "the city of Burhán-púr."**

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* When the Níází tribe first entered these parts from the westward, they took up their abode near the present Masít, about three miles from the north bank of the river of Kurma'h, while the 'Ísá Khel section of the tribe founded a village nearer the banks of the river, which place, on account of the sloping, irregular, nature of the ground, was known by the name of Ṭiṭa'í Mena'h, from the Pus'hto adjective *ṭiṭ*, signifying "crooked," "bowed," "bent," "wry," "curved," etc. Mena'h signifies "dwelling," "habitation." Subsequently, through the hostility of the Marwat clan, they had to abandon Ṭiṭa'í Mena'h; and they peopled another village, which has long since been swept away by the Indus.

There was no place known as 'Ísá Khel when these surveys were made, but, since that time, the Mammú Khel and Zakkú Khel clans of the 'Ísá Khel section of the Níázís fell out and separated, the latter getting the mastery, and the chieftain-ship into their own hands; and the Sind swept away the place peopled after Ṭiṭa'í Mena'h was abandoned. After this, Aḥmad Khán, Zakkú Khel, chief of the 'Ísá Khel as then constituted, some fifty-five years ago, founded a new village, which is now grown into a place of considerable size—a good sized town, but not a "city"—which is merely called "the village or town *of the* 'Ísá Khel," because peopled by them, for the people of the place call it Tarnáo, the Pus'hto for "a trough," "aqueduct," "gutter," "launder," etc., being close to a small branch of the Indus.

† Here again vast changes have taken place since these surveys were made, through the Indus encroaching westward close to the mountains beneath which it flows; and neither Sarí, Jinda'h, Sílam, nor Kappí, are now to be found in our maps.

‡ They have now taken to agriculture, but the nomad sections of the Níázís, their kinsmen, come into their lands in the cold season, and there pitch their tents.

§ Edwardes, for example, says ("Year on the Punjab Frontier," Vol. I., page 388), "Whence the name of "Esaukheyl comes from, I know not, for there is no longer any trace of it left among its people." Here he is greatly mistaken. He very properly remarks, however, in a footnote, on the fanciful etymology of antiquarian geographers, which a recent writer, who has made several similar discoveries lately, might well ponder in his mind. Edwardes says, "I may mention here, that even Reynell, in his 'Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan,' "*discovers* in 'Issakyl,' or 'Esaukheyl,' the country of the Assacini. Unfortunately the Esaukheylees are "not the aborigines, but modern-world invaders."

The name Edwardes styles them by is not correct: it is not "*Esau*," but 'Ísá, that is Jesus, a not uncommon name among most Muḥammadans, and a frequent one amongst the Afgháns.

|| Who was hated accordingly by the Bádsháh's rebellious son, afterwards Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh; and was hunted to death by him shortly after his accession to the throne. Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, like his father before him, set an example of rebellion to his own sons, which, with regard to one of them at least, was not lost upon him; and he finally imprisoned his father, and usurped his throne. I mean, of course, his son, Muḥammad Aurang-zeb, Bahádur, afterwards Aurang-zeb-i-Á'lam-gír.

¶ In the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-Á'lam-gír, who usurped the throne on the 7th of the last month of 1067 H. (end of September, 1656 A.D.). In the second part of Von Dorn's translation of Ni'amat-Ullah's work, he has "Sunday, the 22nd of Zulhija, in the year 78, (*i.e.* 1078) of the Hijra," but I fail to find any such date.

** In Khán-des, the capital of the province.

A great many errors are contained in notices of this work, especially in the notice preceding the extracts taken from it contained in Elliot's "Indian Historians," Vol. V., wherein it is supposed that the "Makhzan-i-Afghání" is one work, and "Khán Jahán Lodí" another, but, as above mentioned, the title of the work is "Táríkh-i-Khán Jahání,* or Makhzan-i-Afghání, and the word *Lodí* does not occur in it.†

That great chief, Malik Aḥmad by name, and the Khán-i-Jahán by title, however, *did write* a history of the Afghán himself, a good old copy of which is now before me. In the Introduction to this volume he says: "The servant of the Most High "God, the Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodí, the author of these pages, despatched in the year "1030 H. (1621 A.D.) persons of experience in the world, who had been, of old, in "the service of the author, men who were distinguished for their great knowledge "and intellect, into the Koḥistán of Ghúr, the Diyár-i-Maghrab, the Ḥijáz, "Khurásán, and other parts, the ancient and present places of residence of this "people [*i.e.* the Afgháns or Pus'htúns], to obtain information and collect their "genealogies, which had hitherto never been systematically arranged; and these he "[the Khán-i-Jahán] having arranged and written out, this work has been entitled "[by the author] '*Mir'át-ul-Afághinah*,'—the Mirror of the Afgháns—and consists "of three *báb* or chapters, and three *daftars* or books."

His account of the descent of the Níází tribe agrees with that of 'Abd-ur-Razzák, the Sulímání, and that in the Makhzan-i-Afghání, and with that given by the Nawwáb, Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, in his Khuláṣat-ul-Ansáb; but, since their days, other branches have struck out from the various divisions of it, and new sections have been formed in some instances, while, in others, sections have declined and become very few in point of numbers.

Their account of the 'Ísá Khel is, briefly, that Dzám or Dzál ("*l*" being substituted for "*m*" in some cases), son of Níázaey—the plural form of the word, namely, Níází, is applied to the tribe collectively—son of Ibráhím, *alias* Lo-e daey or Lo-daey, son of Bíbí Mato, by the Ghúrí youth, of the family of the Tájzík Chiefs of Ghúr, had seven sons by three wives, namely, 'Ísá, 'Alí, and Daulat, by the first wife; Sunbal, and Pindár or Pandár, by the second; and Marhel and Jalaey, by some written Jakaey, by the third.

According to another account given by the Sulímání, previously mentioned, which is considered by him and his authorities to be the most authentic, Níázaey, son of Lo-daey, had three sons, Dzám (corrupted into Jám by those tribes who change "*dz*" into "*j*"), Bá'í, and Kháko. Dzám had eight sons, Pindár or Pandár, Sunbal, Khán (?), Daulat, 'Ísá, 'Alí, Marhel, and Jalaey or Jakaey. 'Ísá, last mentioned, is the progenitor of the 'Ísá Khel. Much discrepancy exists, even among the Níází themselves, respecting the sons and some of the grandsons of Níázaey, as the tribe has, from time to time, become much dispersed through the calamities which they have suffered, and through great numbers having emigrated to Hindústán during the reigns of the Sulṭáns of the house of Lodí. The sections of the Níází tribe now dwelling on the banks of the Sind or Indus more particularly referred to here are, the 'Ísá Khel, the Músá Khel, the Sunbals, and Sahrángs, which all contain smaller sections. The Marhels are, like the Sunbals, descended from Dzám; and, according to some accounts, the Sahrángs of Mián-walí, the Mahyárs, the Mechan Khel, and the Músíání Níázís are descended from Kháko, while the descendants of Bá'í, the third son, have remained as they were, and, being few in point of numbers, have, consequently, not formed separate sections.

Besides those dwelling near to and on the Indus, another section of the Kháko Níázís, namely, the Kúndí, dwell in several villages in the north-east corner of the district of Ṭák or Ṭánk; and they used, in former times, to observe the ancient custom of *wesh*, or the re-distribution of lands in their possession, which custom is observed among some tribes. The Powandah, or nomad Níázís, consisting of the 'Alí Khel, and others, five in all, pitch their tents in the cold season in the territory of the 'Ísá

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* Khán Jahání is an adjective here, literally—"The Khán Jahánián Chronicle," or "Afghánián Repository."

† Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, in his book, abuses the Makhzan-i-Afghání, like all things Afghán, but takes care to transfer its contents to his pages, and incorrectly states that it was "written by Khán Jahán (Lodi) "*with the assistance of his Secretary*, Ni'amat Ullah." If the words "Wáḳía'-Nawís" at the court of Jahángír-Bádsháh," which Ni'amat-Ullah was, mean a "Secretary," nothing is impossible. Wáḳí'a-Nawís, however, signifies "an intelligencer," "a news writer;" and I dare say we have one at Kábul at present, at the Court of 'Abd-ur-Raḥman, the Bárakzí. *See* Priestly's Translation of the "Haiat i Afghani," page 52.

Khel. They will be again referred to in the account of the Powandah Afgháns, in the next Section of these "Notes."

Níázaey, the progenitor of the Níází tribe, was one of the three sons of Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-e daey or Lo-daey, son of Mato, daughter of Baitnaey, or Shaikh Bait, by a young man named Sháh Husain, a Shansabání Tájzík of Ghúr;* and Sultan Bahlúl, of the Sháhú Khel Lodís, was descended from Síánaey, another brother of Níázaey.

The descendants of Bíbí Mato, including the descendants of Níázaey, first dwelt in the district of Shil-ghar, situated to the south of Ghaznín, but, when the other descendants of Bíbí Mato, especially those of her first-born son, the Ghal-zo-e, or Illicit Son, namely, the tribe of Ghalzí, became more numerous in proportion to the others, the district of Shil-gar was found too small to support them all; quarrels arose about the possession of the lands; and, like other tribes and sections of tribes, when the lands were found insufficient to furnish a subsistence, like bees in the parent hive, the

* In his "Central Asia," Part I., MacGregor calls this tribe "*Níází Lohánís*," while a Níází Núhání or Lúhání is just as impossible a name as "Kákar Gakhar," or "Ghori Afghán," would be. As herein shown, and, indeed, as shown in all the genealogies of the Afgháns, the Níázís and Lúhánís, or, more correctly, Núhánís or Núhárnís, are totally distinct tribes.

The same compiler is equally unfortunate respecting history. In the same book, page 525, Vol. II., he says, under the heading of "Níází," that "*they are descended from Niáz Khán, second son of Lodí, King of Ghor,* "*by his second wife Takia. Lodi was the Lohání chief who, in A.H. 955, invaded Hindústán, and, conquering the Dáman, apportioned the lands amongst his sons; the fertile district of Isa Khel fell to the lot* "*of Niáz* [this is 'Níáz' number two] *Khán, whose descendants are settled there to this day.*" He quotes as his authority "*Norman.*"

In Vol. I. of the same book, page 649, under the heading of "Ísá Khel," he says that "Niáz Khán was "*the second son of Lodí, the son of Shah Húsen, King of Ghor,*" and that "*the Niázís were allotted lands in* "*Isá Khel early in the* 12*th century,*" and that "*the main body of the Niázís have settled down in the country* "*allotted to them* 700 *years ago.*" For this statement likewise "*Norman*" and some others are quoted as authorities.

Hai'át Khán, the Kathar, whose book entitled "Hai'át-i-Afghání" MacGregor constantly quotes and refers to, gives a correct account of the descent of the Níázís from Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-daey, and, copying from the history entitled the "Makhzan-i-Afghání," which he asserts is "a tissue of falsehoods," says that the Mattis, namely the Ghalzí, Lodí, and Sarwání tribes, are descended from "*one Shah Husain, a youth of noble* "*birth,*" descended from a ruler of Ghúr, and in this he is tolerably correct, but he says, respecting the Níázís, including the 'Ísá Khel, that they have only been located in the parts they now occupy *two hundred and seventy years* from the time he wrote, which was in 1865. To this statement I have referred in detail farther on.

Now I beg leave to say that Ibráhím Lo-daey was not a "Lohani," seeing that the Núhární tribe are the descendants of Núh, one of the three sons of Ismá'íl, the *grandson* of Ibráhím, Lo-daey, Núh therefore being his *great grandson,* while the Níází tribe are descended from one of Ibráhím Lo-daey's own sons, thus :—

Ibráhím
surnamed Lo-e daey or Lo-daey
(three sons).

1. Níázaey
(his descendants, Níází).

2. Síánaey
(two sons).

3. Dotánaey.

1. Ismá'íl
(three sons).

2. Prangaey.

1. Súr
(the section from which Sher Sháh, ruler of the Dihlí kingdom came).

2. Núhárnaey
(vitiated into Láhárnaey and Lúhánaey).

3. Mahpál.

The matter lies in a nutshell. The Níázís, as well as the Núhárnís and Súrs, are Lodís, but Níázís cannot possibly be "*Lohánís,*" nor can Súrs nor Núhárnís be Níázís.

As to the so-called "king of Ghor," I may mention that there never was a chief of Ghúr, much less a

weakest generally had to seek new homes, unless the more numerous ones, as a few tribes have done, chose to do so. The Níází families being too weak to cope with the Andars, the descendants of Andaṛ, son of the Ghal-zo-e, they moved eastwards in the direction of the Sind or Indus; and took up their quarters at the foot of the eastern skirts, or Dámán, as the latter word signifies, of the great range of Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i-Siyah, in the tract or territory subsequently known as Ták or Ṭáṇk, after a clan or section of the Afghán clan so called, previously referred to at page 325, immediately west of which, in the mountains, their kinsmen, the Baiṭnís, dwell, who are descended from Shpún, or Wuṛ Shpún (the Lesser or Younger Shpún), and Kajín, sons of the Shaikh, Bait, and brothers of Bíbí Mato, who, being weak, like the Níázís, in point of numbers, had been obliged to move eastwards, consequent on the superiority of the Ghalzí tribe. The Andaṛ Ghalzís continue to inhabit Shil-ghaṛ to this day.

Like most of the Afghán tribes at that period, the Níázís were chiefly Powandahs or nomads; and some follow that mode of life, as related above, up to the present time. Arrived in Ṭák, they continued to lead a nomad life, feeding their cattle and flocks; and they likewise engaged in trading, while only a comparative few followed agriculture. They subsequently spread farther to the north-east, towards the Indus; dwelt for some years in the sandy tract or Thal, now known as "Thal of the Marwats," and "Marwat;" and afterwards, through the constant molestation of the Marwat (but not "Maorat," as in the gazetteers) section of the Núḥární, or Lúḥární, they moved farther north-west, to the parts in which the remnant of them (the Níázís) are at present dwelling. I shall refer to these movements from Ṭák farther on.

The Powandah portion of the Níázís, being in the habit of trading to the Panj-áb and Hindústán, when, in after years, an Afghán of their own kin became governor of the Panj-áb, and another of Sahrind, they began, like other Afgháns, to take military service under them. When Sulṭán Bahlul, the Sháhú Khel Lodí, became sovereign of the Dihlí kingdom in 855 H.* (1451 A.D.), he issued proclamations to his countrymen and kinsmen, the descendants of Ibráhím, Lo-daey, in particular, offering them service and free grants of land in Hindústán. The greater part of the Níázís answered to the call, as did numbers of Afgháns of other tribes, some of which, in consequence of so many going, have disappeared altogether, or nearly so, from their mother country, and have become absorbed in Hind.

Among the Afghán tribes and sub-tribes which, at that time, and during the reigns of the subsequent Afghán sovereigns, took service in India, and many of whom attained the highest rank in the State, were Lodís, Núḥarnís, Baiṭnís, Míánahs, Sarwánís, Jalwání Sheránís, Úsh-taránís, Gharshíns, Tárarns,† Aor-maṛs (corrupted into Ormars), Farmulís, Parnís, Kánsís (Kásís of others), Tataurs, Kákaṛs, and some sections of the Karlární‡ division of the Afghán nation, and even some of the Sarabarns. It is a curious fact, however, that we do not find among them any Ghalzís or Abdálís, or others of the, at present, more western tribes of Afgháns. The sovereigns of Málwah, however, were Khalj Turks; and, if the Afgháns considered them to be Ghalzís, as some modern philosophers have, for political purposes, or party bias, endeavoured to show, and that Panj-ábí Gakhaṛs are Kákaṛ Afgháns, it is strange that the Ghalzís did not claim those Khalj kings as their own, and take service with them, after the example of other Afgháns with the kings of their own tribes.

One of the greatest and most trusted officers of Sher Sháh, of the Súr section of the Lodí tribe [I would observe that there never was a "Lohani" ruler of Dihlí, but

"king," called Lodi, neither was there a person among them called "Niáz Khán." Khán is a Turkish title and word, which, in latter days, every upstart adopted. Neither did any "Lohani chief," named "Lodi," "invade Hindústán in A.H. 255," much less "Lodí, king of Ghor," for there was no such person. The year in question was that in which the Á'ẓam Humáyún, the Náízí, was in rebellion against Islám Sháh, also known as Salím Sháh, the Súr, who was ruler of Hindústán. Who "Sháh" Ḥusain really was has been stated above by Hai'át Khán. The same Sháh appears to have led such historians astray, in the same way as the "king of Swát" referred to in note §§, page 250, of these "Notes."

* He was the first of the Afghán race who attained sovereignty in Hindústán, or any part of the continent of India east of the Indus, whatever historians of the kind I have shown above may have written, or may write, and as every native chronicle clearly shows. Khiẓr Khán, the first of the Sayyid dynasty of Dihlí, is, however, supposed to be of Afghán descent, as will be noticed in the account of the Karlárnis farther on.

† The Tárarns are mentioned before, at page 75 of Section Second.

‡ But not "Kiránís;" there are no Afgháns so called.

Lohárnís ruled for a time in Bangálah. Sher Sháh, Súr, sprang from Ismá'íl, brother of Prangaey, who was the son of Síánaey, son of Ibráhím, surnamed Lo-daey, and, consequently, neither of the two dynasties, for there were only two, founded by Sultáns Bahlúl and Sher Sháh were "*Lohanis*"]* was Haibat Khán, the Níází; and his brothers, 'Ísá Khán, and Sa'íd Khán, likewise, held high positions in the State. There was another 'Ísá Khán, who held the office of Hájib or Chamberlain to Sher Sháh, and his son Islám Sháh, who has been mistaken for 'Ísá, the Níází, but he was a totally different person.

Haibat Khán greatly distinguished himself in, and mainly contributed to gain, the victory over Naṣír-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Humáyún Bádsháh, at Chaunsá on the Ganges, in which he sustained a most disastrous defeat, in Muḥarram, 947 H. (May, 1540 A.D.); and, when that unfortunate monarch subsequently had to retire into the Panj-áb, followed by Sher Khán, who had now assumed sovereignty, and the title of Sulṭán Sher Sháh, 'Ísá Khán, Níází, Haibat's brother, was one of the leaders detached from Sher Sháh's army, encamped near Khush-áb on the Jhilam, in pursuit of Humáyún Bádsháh, who was retreating towards Sind by the west bank of the river Ráwí.

Shortly after, when Sher Sháh had to leave the Panj-áb, consequent upon the aspect of affairs in Bangálah, Haibat Khán, Níází, his brother, 'Ísá, with other Amírs of the tribes of Kákar and Jalwání Sheránís, and Khowáṣ Khán, the house-born slave, but most trusted of Sher Sháh's Amírs, were left in charge of so much of the Pánj-áb as appertained at that period to the Dihlí rulers, that is, as far west as the Már-gala'h pass, and no farther.† The parts farther west were under the sway of, or in alliance with, Khán Kajú, the renowned chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandars, referred to at page 224. The fortress of new Ruhtás was founded at this period, and Haibat Khán subsequently held it with a force of 30,000 Afghán horse, all in his own pay, the like of which no other Amír entertained. The fortress was not finished, however, until some years after.

In 950 H. (1543–44 A.D.), Sulṭán Sher Sháh received intimation from Khowáṣ Khán that disagreement had arisen between Haibat Khán and himself, which might prove detrimental to the Sulṭán's interests if one of them was not recalled. Such was the estimation in which Haibat was held, and the trust reposed in him, that Sher Sháh left him in sole charge of the Panj-áb, and recalled Khowáṣ Khán, 'Ísá Khán, Níázi, and Ḥabíb Khán, Kákar. At the same time Haibat was directed to recover Multán and its territory, and deliver it out of the hands of the Balúchís, the events attending which performance, not being part of the present subject, will be found recorded in the notice of the Balúch tribes in the next Section of these "Notes." He carried out his orders, and for his services was raised to the highest rank, with the title of "Masnad-i-'Álá, Á'ẓam Humáyún"—"The Most August, the Occupant of the Exalted Seat [of dignity]," a title which had been conferred by the Afghán sovereigns on two previous occasions. He was likewise assigned a scarlet tent, which only the family of the sovereign was hitherto allowed to use.

After the death of Sher Sháh in Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 952, H. (July, 1545 A.D.), and the accession of his younger son, Jalál, who assumed the title of Islám Sháh, to the exclusion of his eldest son, 'Ádil Khán, who was absent from the Court when his father died, when Khowáṣ Khán, 'Ísá Khán, Níází, and several others among the great Amírs of Sher Sháh, endeavoured to set up the eldest son, because Islám Sháh had broken the covenant entered into with his brother when the latter relinquished his claims to the throne, and Khowáṣ Khán, and others were defeated by Islám Sháh, and retreated towards Sahrind, the Á'ẓam Humáyún was directed to march from the Panj-áb against them. He did so at once, at the head of 40,000 horse, upon which these disaffected Amírs sought shelter in the mountains of Kumáún, the Rájah of which was hostile to the Dihlí sovereigns. After this the Á'ẓam Humáyún returned to Láhor.

Subsequently, several other Afghán feudatories became hostile towards Islám Sháh; for he, considering they were too powerful, and might plot against him, sought to destroy them by treachery. They fled to the Á'ẓam Humáyún, who was directed by Islám Sháh to seize and send them to his presence. He sent several of

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* *See* previous note *, page 345.

† Up to the time of the establishment of an Afghán dynasty on the throne of Dihlí, the whole of the upper part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and even the country as far east as the town of Shor-Koṭ in the Chin-haṭ Do-ábah, was in the possession of the Mughal Turks. In the time of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, the last of the Shamsí dynasty of Dilhí, the Mughals held and dominated all the Panj-áb, from Úchchh on the south, to the country of the Ḳárlúgh Hazárah on the north, and as far east as the river Biáh, at which time it flowed in its old bed. *See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 815 and 862, note 8, note to page 1130, and page 1136.

them, but, soon after, Sa'íd Khán, the Á'ẓam Humáyún's younger brother, who was in attendance on Islám Sháh, being in danger of his life, fled to his brother's presence at Láhor, leaving his camp standing, and abandoning all his property and effects.

Islám Sháh now peremptorily ordered the Á'ẓam Humáyún to present himself before him, but, finding it was intended to put him to death, he, placing confidence in the 40,000 horse in his pay, Níázís, Yúsufzís, and Mandaṛs, of whom 12,000 were Níázís of his own clan or section, determined to resist the order, and refused to obey. Now, Khowáṣ Khán, and the other old Amírs of Sher Sháh, the partisans of the latter's eldest son, 'Ádil Khán, left their place of shelter in the country of Kumáún, to unite with the Á'ẓam Humáyún against Islám Sháh; and the confederates moved towards Dihlí. Islám Sháh issued from thence, and marched forward to meet them; and the two armies approached each other near Anbálah,* the former being posted near that town on the west, and the latter two kuroh distant on the east side of the place.

Expecting a night attack from the other, each army remained under arms, and on the alert, the whole of the night; and, during this time, Khowáṣ Khán and his party held counsel with the Á'ẓam Humáyún, and his brothers, 'Ísá, and Sa'íd, and others of their party. Returning to his own camp under pretence of preparing for the encounter on the morrow, Khowáṣ Khán merely arranged to desert the Á'ẓam Humáyún during the engagement, so as to cause the defeat of the Níázís, because he was jealous of, and feared him,—he had quarrelled with him before, in Sher Sháh's reign, as before related—lest, in case of Islám Sháh's defeat, the Á'ẓam Humáyún might aspire to sovereignty. Some historians even declare that Khowáṣ Khán sent intimation to Islám Sháh informing him of his intention to desert the Á'ẓam Humáyún.

When the battle began, the Níázís discovered his treachery, finding that he held aloof with his party and their forces; and, though disheartened, and hopeless of victory, they fought with their usual valour. The wily Khowáṣ Khán, and his party, remained as lookers on, lest, by chance, the Níázís might yet win the day, when, making excuses for holding back, they might still take the winning side. Finding, however, that they were giving way, he, and his confederates, retired in all haste towards the mountains of Kumáún again.

The Níázís, and other Afgháns in the Á'ẓam Humáyún's army, finding they could not succeed against the forces opposed to them, that leader gave the order to retreat. At this time, Sa'íd Khán, the youngest of the Níází brothers, with two other valiant youths of his tribe, covered in complete armour, made a gallant attempt to pierce through the living fortress of elephants, chained together, in the midst of which Islám Sháh was posted. Under pretence of offering congratulations to him on his success, Sa'íd, and the others, succeeded in reaching the Ḥiṣár (fortress) of elephants, and requested their drivers to open a way for him. One of them, however, who was nearest to him, recognized him by his voice; and, striking him on the head with the spear he bore, knocked off the steel cap of Sa'íd Khán, and exposed his countenance to view. His object was thus discovered, and frustrated, but, nevertheless, he succeeded in reaching the retreating forces in safety.

The stream west of Anbálah, which was full of mud and bog, was impassable, except at the usual ford, and that was so narrow and contracted, that, there being neither bridge nor boats available, and the victors close upon them, the defeated troops of the Á'ẓam Humáyún threw themselves in to endeavour to cross it. One half of the force perished in the mud and water; and the remainder fled towards the Panj-áb, and made for the Sind Ságar Do-ábah in order to gain Dhan-Koṭ, situated on the east bank of the Sind or Indus.†

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* Another writer says Parnálah, near Anbálah.

† This is the place which constantly appears in the Histories of Tímúr, Bábar, and Humáyún as Dín-Koṭ. Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, who writes the name correctly, says in his book that "it lies on the west bank of the "Indus or Sind, a mile and a half north, inclining east, from Kálá Bágh." The extremity of a range of hills touching the Indus at the point indicated by him certainly appears in the Indian Atlas map as "*Dungote Sir*," and a village below it as "*Dungot*," without the '*e*,' but the Dhan-Koṭ here referred to, lay on the *east* side of the Indus, in the hills opposite the so-called Dungote Sir; for it is nowhere even hinted that the Níázís, or their pursuers, ever crossed the river, which is proved from the fact that the Khwájah, Wais, and his forces, escaped after he had been defeated by the Níázís and pursued as far as Láhor, as related under. Had he crossed the Indus he and his routed forces must have perished.

Referring to the tracts east of the Indus, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, on the occasion of his advance to Khush-áb and Bharah, Bábar Bádsháh says: "The Koh-i-Júd [or Júd range] lies seven kuroh north from

Islám Sháh despatched, the Khwájah—so called because he was of a family of devotees—Wais, the Sarwání, Afghán, at the head of a large army in pursuit of the Níázís, and himself, returned to Dihlí, where Khowáṣ Khán soon after presented himself. But this desertion of the Á'ẓam Humáyún did not serve his treachery and double dealing; and Islám Sháh commanded that he should be put to death in the Bázár of Dihlí, where his corpse was left exposed for three days; and thus he met his deserts.*

The Khwájah, Wais, the Sarwání, having pursued the Níázís, a severe encounter took place between them near Dhan-Koṭ, in which the Khwájah's forces were overthrown and put to flight, and he himself fell from his elephant wounded in seven places. The Níázís pursued them as far as Láhor—some say as far as Sahrind—after which they returned to Dhán-Koṭ again.

The Khwájah, having been reinforced by fresh and select troops sent by Islám Sháh, again moved against the Níázís. They again encountered each other near Sunbala'h, in the vicinity of Dhan-Koṭ, and a desperate encounter ensued. Weakened by their former losses, the Níázís, on this occasion, were totally defeated; and several of their families, including those of the Á'ẓam Humáyún, and his brother 'Ísá, and a vast deal of property, fell into the hands of the Khwájah's forces. He treated the families with great ignominy, and sent them to the presence of Islám Sháh, where they were treated with still greater ignominy for the space of two years.

The Á'ẓam Humáyún, and his brothers, 'Ísá, Sa'íd, and Sháh Báz, with the remnant of the Níází tribe, then took shelter in the fastnesses of the Gakhar country, north of Ráwal Pindí; and the Gakhars gave them shelter and assistance for nearly two years, during which time they, themselves, in consequence, suffered dire calamities. It will naturally be inquired why they did so, and why they brought these troubles on themselves?

To give shelter to fugitives, and entertain, and take the part of those throwing themselves on others' protection, is a custom which has been more or less prevalent among eastern people, and particularly among the tribes of these parts; and perhaps the Gakhars could not well help themselves; but, while giving them full credit for their faithful support of the Níázís on this occasion, there were other reasons which induced them to shelter them.

The history of the Afghán tribes, and those around them, is so mixed up with the history of India, and the history of India with that of the Afgháns and their country, that no one can write correctly respecting the events in either without being acquainted with both—as this Níází episode will sufficiently demonstrate—and the information required for the purpose is not to be found in incorrect translations of

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" Bharah. It separates the Kohistán of Kash-mír from the Hindú Kush, and, running in a direction west " and south, terminates at Dín-Koṭ [*i.e.* Dhan-Koṭ]." Our maps confirm this last clearly.

Again he says, "When Hindú Beg [whom he had left to hold these parts east of the Indus] found he could " hold them no longer, on account of the Afgháns and Hindústánís, who assembled in great numbers, and " were marching against him, he retired from Bharah to Kush-áb; and, passing through the territory [*wiláyat*] " of Dín-Koṭ [Dhan-Koṭ], reached Níl-áb."

Báyazíd, the Byát Mughal, describing the situation of Darsamand [looking S.E.], says, "It is so situated " that it has Tí-ráh on one side, on the other Bangas'h and Dawaṛ, in the other direction [*i.e.*, beyond those " again or farther S.E.] Sunbalah [the Sunbal Níází territory east of the Indus] on one side, and on the other " Dín-Koṭ [Dhan-Koṭ]," which lies north of the territory of the Sunbals.

Abú-l-Faẓl, in his Á'ín-i-Akbarí, shows us, that "Dhan-Koṭ was situated on the *east* bank of the Mihrán [the Indus]; that it was one of the forty-two *maḥálls* of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah; that it contained a salt mine; that its inhabitants then (in his time) were Janjúhahs; and that they were rated as being able to furnish 150 horsemen and 1,000 foot for militia purposes.

In mentioning the five routes leading into the province of Kábul from Hindústán, he says, "one is the " Bangas'h route; and you cross the Sind river [from the Panj-áb] at the Dhan-Koṭ ferry. Another route " is by Baghzaṇ; and there is likewise the Furmúl route, in taking which you cross the Sind at the " Chaupára'h [Tsautara'h ?] ferry."

The "Dungote Sir" of the map, and Hai'át Khán's Dhan-Koṭ, are the "*Dingot*" of MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., page 484, and thus names continue to be vitiated. Hai'át Khán says the ruins of the Dhan-Koṭ he refers to, of Islám Sháh's time, are still to be seen, while MacGregor says the ruins are those of a village built by "the grandfather of the present Malik of Kálábágh."

No doubt, the Níázís sent their families across the Indus at the period in question, and, probably, made use of the remarkable rocky eminence there, but it did not follow that that was *the* Dhan-Koṭ of the Níázís, which was situated in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in the *maḥáll* to which it gave name.

In the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí, instead of Dhan-Koṭ, it is called Díw-Koṭ; and, in this, the author of that work differs from all others.

* The Zubdat-ut-Tawáríkh says Islám Sháh sent Táj Khán, the Karlární, at the head of an army against Khowáṣ Khán and his party, who still continued in rebellion in the Kumáún territory. He was directed to spare no pains, and no oaths or promises, in order to secure his person by some means or other; then to finish him, send his head to the royal presence, and his body to Dihlí, and have it hung over one of the gateways. This was done; and, about a year after, Salím—as he is also styled by Hindústánís—Sháh died.

histories in Persian, in the study of Dow and Briggs, and in extracts from the work of a single author, however faithfully he may have been translated: the Afghán writers also require to be consulted. To understand the events of this period we must likewise inquire into the state of the neighbouring countries and districts, and the tribes inhabiting them, as well as the occurrences preceding and coeval with the events in question, and the causes which brought them about.

Naṣír-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Humáyún Bádsháh, after being compelled to leave Hindústán, retired to Láhor in Rabí'-ul-Awwal—the third month—of 947 H. (July, 1540 A.D.)* He then retired from the Panj-áb between the river Ráwí and the Chin-áb towards Úchchh; and, passing the Panj-Áb, or Panj-Nad, the united stream of the five rivers from whence the Panj-áb derives its name, he proceeded down towards Lúhṛí (also called Rúhṛí), opposite Bhakhar in Sind, which he reached in Ramaẓán—the ninth month—of the same year. He remained in Sind during the remainder of that year, the next two years, 948 and 949 H. (1541–42 and 1542–43 A.D.), and part of 950 H. (1543 A.D.), having left Sind and proceeded towards Ḳandahár in Rabí'-us-Sání—the fourth month—of 950 H. (July, 1543 A.D.), the same year in which the Á'ẓam Humáyún drove the Balúchís out of the Multán territory. In the meantime, Humáyún Bádsháh had proceeded into Í-rán; had received aid from the Ṣafáwiyah monarch; and returned, and regained possession of Ḳandahár in Jamádí-uṣ-Sání—the sixth month—of 952 H. (August—September, 1545 A.D.),† just two months, that is to say, in the third month, before Islám Sháh's accession to the throne of Dihlí. Kábul was recovered by Humáyún Bádsháh in Ramaẓán—the ninth month—of the same year, but he had enough to do to hold his own against his brother, Kámrán Mírzá, in Kábul and its dependencies, without being able to pay any attention to the territories between Kábul and the Indus, until after he had defeated him at Ḳipchák, and in the action at Shutar Grám, in 957 H. (1550 A.D.).

In the meantime the Níází rebellion had broken out; the Á'ẓam Humáyún had been overthrown at Anbálah; the Khwájah, Wais, the Sarwání, had been defeated by the Níázís; he had subsequently defeated them, and had compelled them to fly for protection into the mountain fastnesses of the Gakhaṛ tribe of Panj-ábís.

At this period the tract of country lying along the eastern bank of the Indus, from Harnolí to near Bhakhar‡ south, and farther towards the south on both sides of the river, was peopled by Balúchís; and the Níází Afgháns held the territory on both sides north of the Harnolí district towards Níl-áb and Makhad, on the east side of the Indus, as far as Khush-áb on the Jhilam, and from the junction of the river of Kurma'h with the Indus, to near Ḳará Bágh, or Kálá Bagh, on the west side of that river. Aṭak Banáras was not then founded; other Afghán tribes held the tracts west of the Níázís again, and lower down, but some had only recently reached those parts.§ The Gakhaṛs, and some other Panj-ábí hill tribes of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, were, for the most part, independent; the Dilazák Afgháns had recently been forced across the Indus by the Ghwaríah Khel Afgháns, and were dwelling in and near the Chachh Hazárah district, while the territory of the Ḳárlúgh Hazárah was still in the possession of the remnant of the Ḳárlúgh Turks. The Ghwaríah Khel, after driving out the Dilazáks, held all the country from Jalál-ábád to the Indus on the east, and

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* The hottest part of the year, at present; and the wonder is how he managed to march, encumbered with women and children, under such difficulties, in want of almost everything, and all the rivers swollen to their utmost, and however he managed to cross the then mighty rivers united near Úchchh. The idea immediately arises that the heat, at that time, could not have been so great as in the present day, and that great changes in the climate must have taken place since then.

From the Bádsháh's route it would appear that, even up to this period, the Chin-áb and Ráwí flowed *east* of Multán, and united with the Bíáh, which also must have then flowed in its old bed, *west* of Jalálpúr in the Multán district. In this manner, the Bádsháh would arrive opposite Úchchh without having any river to cross until he came to the Panj-Nad, or Panj-Ab, or united Five Rivers; and this is borne out by the description of his march.

† Erskine, in his "History of India," Vol. II., has greatly mistaken the dates here. He makes Humáyún Bádsháh appear before Ḳandahár in "Jam. II., 949," and makes it agree with September, 1542 A.D. Humáyún was in Sind in 949 H. The dates above given are correct.

‡ Bhakhar, north of Layyá, on the way to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, is referred to here.

§ The Khaṭak tribe were only then beginning to make their way upwards towards their present seats on the river of Kábul, for Lower Bangas'h, or Koháṭ, as far east as the Resa'í ferry on the Indus, south of the modern Khush-ḥál-Gaṛh, was then held by the Wurakzí tribe of Kaṛlárnís, while the Dilazáks, the principal Kaṛlární tribe, who had about this time—about 940 or 941 H.—been driven out of their territory by the Ghwaríah Khel, assisted by Kámrán Mírzá, had recently held all the country between the Khaibar and the Indus, and farther east, and from the banks of the river of Kábul to the mountains bounding the Pes'háwar district on the south, now known as the Afrídí and Khaṭak hills. When compelled, at last, to abandon their country, after a deal of fighting, the Dilazáks retired towards the Indus by the Jáuah-gaṛ Dara'h and pass, a tract exceedingly well adapted for defence, and the tract now held by the Karmezí Khaṭaks. They then crossed the Indus, and joined the rest of their tribe settled in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah. *See* page 226.

from the river of Kábul on the north, to what are now called the Khaṭak and Afrídí hills bounding the Pes'háwar district on the south, while all the extensive tract of country from Náwa'h-ga'í and Hindú-Ráj on the west, to the Abáe-Sín on the east, and from Suwát and Panj-Korah on the north, to the river of Kábul on the south, was held by the Khas'hí Afgháns and their allied tribes.[*] The chief of the Khas'hí sept or division of the Afgháns at this time was the renowned Khán Kajú, who had refused to entangle himself with Sher Khán when he began to rebel against Humáyún Bádsháh, and who had now become the most powerful chief of that part, his only rivals being the Ghwaríah Khel, who had been supported by Kámrán Mírzá, and supported him against his sovereign and brother; but the power of these rivals Khán Kajú was now waiting for an opportunity to crush for ever.

This was the state of the adjoining districts and territories when the Á'zam Humáyún and the Níázís sought shelter in the mountains of the Gakhars.[†] But what led or induced him to seek shelter with them?

When Sher Sháh reached Khush-áb in 947 H., in pursuit of Humáyún Bádsháh, the Afgháns of Roh presented themselves, and paid homage to him; and others flocked to his presence from the province of Kábul, and even from Kandahár, and as far as the banks of the Hírmand. Among others who came to pay homage were the Balúch chiefs of those parts, Ismá'íl Khán and Fatḥ Khán, of the Dúdá'í clan of Hút, and Ghází Khán, the Marlání, the founders of the three Dera'hs bearing their respective names,[‡] who held the northern parts of Sind (all the flat sandy tract of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, stretching as far as the skirt of the Koh-i-Júd, or Salt Range, was called Sind in those days). Likewise came the grandfather of the author of the "Táríkh-i-Sher-Sháhí," the Shaikh, Báyazíd, or Báhzíd, as the name is, at times, shortened, the Gakbúr Sarwání. This Shaikh Báyazíd was the son of the famous and venerated Shaikh, Mulhí Ḳatál,[§] son of the Shaikh, Sulímán-i-Dáná, son of the Shaikh, Aḥmad-i-Jawán-mard, son of Súraey (not the Lodí Súr), son of Sarpál, son of Sarwání or Sarwárni, son of Mama'í, Kágh the Minstrel's daughter, the second wife of Sháh Ḥusain, the Shansabání Tájzík, a scion of the family of the petty chiefs of Ghúr. The brother of this same Shaikh Báyazíd, named Shaikh 'Alí-i-Sháh-Báz, was the father of Aḥmad-i-Dzandah-púr. As these Sarwánís, as well as the Lodís and Ghalzís, are descended from the sons of Sháh Ḥusain, afore-mentioned, by his wife Bíbí Mato, namely, Sarwánaey and Ibráhím, Lodaey, why not make "*Khilich Turks*" of these likewise, as well as the descendants of his first-born son, the Ghal-Zo-e?[||]

When the Shaikh, Báyazíd, who was then the head of the Sarwánís of Roh, and whose family, for several generations, had devoted themselves to a religious life, entered the presence of Sher Sháh, and the Shaikh was about to give him his hand—as was usual with the members of his family when they appeared before the Afghán sovereigns, who used to advance a few paces to receive them, and, when they retired, to accompany them a short distance—Sher Sháh said in Pus'hto, "O, Shaikh! let us embrace;" and they did so in the true Afghán style. At the Sulṭán's request, Ismá'íl, the Hút

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* *See* page 224, Section Third.

† I do not refer to the previously very powerful, and still, numerous tribe of Khokhar, from whom the Gakhars, never so numerous nor so powerful, are totally distinct. *See* page 363.

‡ *See* Section First, pages 2—5. In the version of the Táríkh-i-Sher-Sháhí, contained in Elliot's "Historians," the names of the Balúch tribes have been *left out.* Khán-i-Jahán, Lodí, in his Mir-'át-ul-Afághinah, says, "Ismá'íl Khán, Hút, Ghází Khán, Marlání, and Fatḥ Khán, Dúdá'í." More on the subject of these chiefs will be found in the next Section. *See* also note *, page 335.

§ Invariably mistranslated in Elliot's "Historians" into "Shaikh *Malhi Kayál;*" and the well known section of the Sarwánís—the Gakbúr—is turned into "*Kalkapúr.*" All these errors are through want of local knowledge. The Shaikh, Mulhí Ḳatál, is one of the most famous and venerated of the Afghán saints.

|| Writers who appear to be unacquainted with the facts recorded in the native historians, the only sources of our knowledge respecting the history of India and the parts adjacent, or those writers who rush at conclusions, or those who trim their opinions to suit the wind of a particular political policy, assure us that the Ghalzí Afgháns are not Afgháns, but "*of the Turk tribe of Khilich*" from "*the upper course of the Jaxartes.*" Perhaps they imagine that the originals of their respective names are one and the same, or very similar, thus غلزي—Ghalzí, and خلجي—Khaljí, yet, even according to their special historical lights, they consider the Ghalzís to be descended from the youth, Sháh Ḥusain, a scion of the family of one of the petty chiefs of Ghúr, who were subject to the Turk Sulṭáns of Ghaznín, which family are merely called Ghúrís because they dwelt in Ghúr, and they were Tájzíks of the family of Shansab. Since these writers pretend that the descendants of this Sháh Ḥusain, the *Ghúrí's* first-born son, the Ghal-zo-e, or "Illicit Son"—namely, the Ghalzís—are "Khilich Turks," *how is it that they do not make Turks of the descendants of Sháh Ḥusain's two other sons likewise?* The two mothers of the three sons were both Afgháns; and, if one brother's descendants by the same father are "Khilich Turks," those of the others must be "Khilich Turks" likewise. In the latest edition of a very extensive, and also expensive, work now publishing, Black's "Encyclopædia Britannica," much to my surprise, I lately chanced to read the following, from the pen of Col. H. Yule, C.B.:—"The probability of "the identity of the *Khilijis* and *Ghilzais* is obvious, and the question touches others regarding the origin of "the Afghans, but it does not seem to have been gone into."

Balúch, restored to the Shaikh, in lieu of other lands, those of the village of Khokharán, in the Nandanah* *parganah*, which, during the time that the Langáh dynasty held sway over Multán and its dependencies, the Shaikh's family had been deprived of, and had come under the sway of the Balúchís.

Sher Sháh expended a vast sum in money and presents upon the Afgháns who presented themselves before him at Khush-áb, but, although the Balúch and other Zamíndárs, had also done so, the Rá'e, Sárang—mark the purely Hindú title: "Khán" was subsequently adopted—the Gakhar Zamnídár, who depended upon the strength of his country† in the Koh-i-Júd, did not think fit to do so, indeed, he had refused; and, according to the narrative of the Khán-i-'Álam, the Núhární, it is written, that, in reply to his summons, he sent Sher Sháh—*sher* means *lion*‡—some lion and tiger skins,§ signifying that the occupation of himself and tribe was war with those animals. This enraged Sher Sháh so much that he prepared to ravage and desolate the Gakhar country.

In the Mir'át-ul-Afághinah of the Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodí, it is stated that the Rá'e sent him some bundles of hempen cloth, and some loads of millet, saying, that such was the clothing and food his country furnished, and asked what else he expected of him.

Sher Sháh, accordingly, entered the Gakhar country, and devastated it; and, during the raid, two daughters of the Rá'e fell into his hands at Kolí and Parh-álah; and these he made a present of to his house-born slave, Khowáṣ Khán. On this occasion Sher Sháh inspected the kohistán or hill tracts in the part called Gharchhák Nandanah‖, while other writers say Nandanah, and near the Tala'h of Bál-Náthh, the Jogí, for a site whereon to erect a fortress, saying, that he would drive such a spike into the breast of the Gakhars as should remain there to the end of time, and likewise close the route between Kábul and Láhor to Mughal invasion of Hindústán.

Another writer says, that (instead of going himself) he left behind him a large force to operate against the Gakhars; that near the Tala'h of Bál-Náṭhh, Jogí, was the chief place and residence of the chiefs of that tribe—for there were more than one—which was harried; and that there the daughters of the Rá'e, Sárang were taken captive.

The spike he referred to was the great fortress of Ruhtás or New Ruhtás, which the Á'zam Humáyún and his Níázís had charge of, and which took many years to complete.

The Táríkh-i-Khán-Jahání-i-Makhzan-i-Afghání, of Haibat Khán, the Kákar¶ Afghán (which Hai'át Khán asserts is a tissue of falsehoods, but which he, nevertheless, takes care to transfer to his book, entitled "Hai'át-i-Afghání,"** but leaves

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* These names are rather doubtful, the last, more than the first. In the extract given in Elliot, Vol. IV., p. 389, from the Táríkh-i-Sher Sháhí, these same words are translated "the *parganah* of Ninduna in the "Ghakhar country," which was to be given to "Isma'íl Khán Bilúch, instead of the *parganah* of Ninduna," thus reversing matters, or rather, it is no exchange at all. Nandanah belonged, of old, to the Khokhars, but assigning a Gakhar *parganah*, before reducing the Gakhars, was quite out of the question. *See* following note ‖, and page 367.

† A small tract of country only.

‡ The word is Sher, not Sheer, for that means "milk."

§ The original is *palangán*, the plural of *palang*, "a tiger," but, in one place, in Elliot's "Indian Historians," it is "a bundle of arrows," the translator of the passage reading it "*paekánán*," *paekán* signifying "the *head* of an arrow."

‖ The Khuláṣat-ut-Tawáríkh states that Sher Sháh, himself, entered the Gakhar country, and went as far as Ṭhaṭhah, to the stronghold of the tribe, then retraced his steps, and, near the mountain of Bál-Náṭhh, the Jogí, selected a site for the fortress. *See* my note on the site of "Nandanah," in the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 536.

In the Táríkh-i-Sher Sháhí, in "Elliot's Historians," Vol. IV., these words are turned into "*Padmán* and *Garjhak*," although only a page or two before the same words occur as are here mentioned in the note above. Of course "the hills of Padmán" are non-existent: the original is Nandanah. Again, in Vol. V., page 114, although the subject is precisely the same, the editor appears to have been oblivious of it, and we have "Sher "Sháh *threatened* to construct such a fort in that country that it should not only effectually restrain the "Ghakhars, but also the passage of the Mughals. He therefore himself made a tour [raid?] through *the* "*hills of Girjhak Ninduna* [mountains circumjacent], and, finding a fit spot, he laid the foundations of the fort, "which he called Rohtas." So here "Girjhak Ninduna" means "*mountains circumjacent*," perhaps, but in what language is not said, but certainly not in Persian, nor in any Indian dialect. This is amusing, truly! The words are proper names. *See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" (Translation), note 4, pages 454–455, note 1, page 481, note 1, page 534, and note 1, page 1129, and page 281 of these "Notes," also Elliot, Vol. II., page 451, where it is stated that "the name of Ninduna cannot be restored." Gharchhák, not "Girjhák," is the name of a *parganah* still well known.

¶ Von Dorn, in his translation of "Neamet Ullah," invariably errs in making "*Kakers*" of the Gakhars and Khokhars, particularly the former. This was through want of *local* knowledge. The consequence is that some compilers make Kákars of the Hindú Gakhars. *See* page 363.

** Hai'át Khán, the author of the above-mentioned work on the Afgháns, belongs to the Kaṭhar tribe of Panj-ábís, consequently he is neither a "*Gakhar*," nor is he of "*Afghan descent*."

out all about the Rá'e of the Gakhars, and his daughters), says, that the "Rá'e, " Sárang, after his country had been desolated, and his family captured, had to submit " to Sher Sháh, upon which Sher Sháh ordered him to be flayed, and his skin stuffed " with hay, for his misdeeds."*

The author of the Táríkh-i-Dá'údí, however, says, that the Rá'e, Sárang, who was the most notable man of his tribe, submitted to Islám Sháh, Sher Sháh's successor, after that sovereign had spent two years in reducing the Níázís, who had taken shelter in the Gakhar country, and that he ordered him to be flayed and his skin stuffed with hay, which is more probable than that he was taken in Sher Sháh's time. It is further stated in that work, that the Rá'e's son, Kamál, was also taken, and was shut up in the fortress of Gwáliyúr;† and that Islám Sháh endeavoured to secure the person of Sulṯán Adam, the other Gakhar chief, who had given intimation to Humáyún Bádsháh respecting his brother, Kámrán Mírzá, and delivered him into his hands, but without success. This, however, is erroneous, because Kámrán was only given up in the eighth month of 959 H. (1551, A.D.), while the Níázís were crushed, and the Gakhars reduced to helplessness, in 956 H. (1549, A.D.); besides, Islám Sháh had not such affection for Kámrán as to feel much, if anything, for his loss.

There is no doubt but that the Gakhars behaved exceedingly well towards the Níázís, and suffered much for them, but their deadly hostility towards the Súr dynasty was one reason for sheltering them, and the facts need not have been suppressed; and to retain their own independence was another reason.

Having thus given a brief summary of the events of this period, I may now bring the account of the Níází rebellion to a conclusion.

After the Gakhars had lost many of their numbers, and their families had been ruined or carried away captive, and reduced to helplessness, the remaining Níázís retired from the Gakhar country, to endeavour to enter Kash-mír, but Mírzá Haidar, the Doghlátí Mughal, who had then gained a footing in and ruled Kash-mír, in order to propitiate Islám Sháh, occupied the routes and passes against them.‡ The Níázís, unable to proceed into Kash-mír, then turned off towards Rájawarí; and Islám Sháh pursued them as far as Madad and Noh-shahrah on the Chin-áb, when, finding how

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* Nizám-ud-Dín, Aḥmad, in the Ṯabakát-i-Akbarí, says, that Rá'e Sárang fell into Sher Sháh's hands, while Abú-l-Fazl states, that he fell into the hands of Islám Sháh; and this is, doubtless, correct, and as confirmed in the Táríkh-i-Dá'údí, for, had Sárang been captured in Sher Sháh's time, Islám Sháh would not have been occupied two years in reducing the Gakhars and Níázís.

When Islám Sháh got Rá'e Sárang, and his son, Kamál, into his power, after flaying the Rá'e alive, Kamál was sent to the fortress of Gwáliyúr; and Sulṯán Adam, uncle of Kamál, usurped the chieftain-ship. Let it not be supposed that he was a sovereign prince because of the word Sulṯán here, for, like Rá'e, it is a mere title, as Bádsháh is of the chiefs of Káshkár, and Sháh and Bádsháh of Sayyids.

† When Islám Sháh had the state prison of Gwáliyúr undermined and blown up with gunpowder, to rid himself of the state prisoners, Kamál, the Gakhar, was found unhurt in a corner of his prison. He was subsequently taken into favour; and, some time after the downfall of the Súr dynasty, Kamál was taken into Akbar Bádsháh's service. Abú-l-Fazl gives an interesting account of him. He says, "The Gakhar *ulús* or " tribe were always boasting of their loyalty to the state; and the Bádsháh never regarded their territory with " avaricious eyes. Nevertheless, Sulṯán Adam, the Gakhar chief, failed to come and present himself, and make " his obeisance. The Bádsháh, taking into consideration some previous service performed by Sulṯán Adam " [the surrender of Kámrán Mírzá], did not take much notice of this misconduct; but, after the Bádsháh " succeeded to the throne, Kamál, Gakhar, son of the Rá'e, Sárang, the brother of Adam, having entered the " imperial service, greatly distinguished himself in an engagement with Sulṯán 'Adilí, the Afghán, in the " Hansowah *parganah* in the Lakhnau *sarkár*, and the Bádsháh promised to reward him, and asked what he " could do for him. He complained that his uncle, Adam, had usurped the chieftain-ship of his tribe; that " when Salím [otherwise Islám] Sháh, Súr, entered the Panj-áb to reduce the Gakhar tribe, his father and " himself fell into his hands. After causing the father to be flayed alive, he was, himself, sent to Gwáliyúr [as " stated above], and his uncle, Adam, usurped his possessions. On this, Akbar Bádsháh, in the eighth year of " his reign, issued his commands to the authorities in the Panj-áb to signify to Adam that he must resign " one half of the territory to his nephew. He refused to comply, and opposed the imperial forces at Hílán, " west of the Wihat or Jhilam; and the Gakhars were defeated with great slaughter, and Adam was captured. " His son, Lashkarí, escaped to the mountains of Kash-mír, but was subsequently captured likewise. Akbar " Bádsháh caused them both to be made over to Kamál, who put Lashkarí to death, and kept Adam in confine- " ment until he died."

Kamál was permitted to retain possession of his native district, but subject to, and as a feudatory of, the Mughal state. That he, or any belonging to him, before or after, ever were "governors of the Panj-áb," or any other part beyond their own district, is as absurd as that they reigned for sixteen generations in Kash-mír; and such an idea could only have occurred to the Gakhar mind which appropriated the Khokhars and all their works, for self-glorification. Gakhar chiefs, in the service of the Mughals, were constantly employed on the frontier as well as in other parts, and some were Fowj-dárs of Pakhla'í, of Bannú, and Bangas'h. Sa'íd Khán, brother of Kamál, was in the imperial service also, and held the rank of commander of 1,500; and Kamál's sons, Mubárak and Jalál, likewise held the same rank. The Gakhars had interest at Court, for a daughter of Sa'íd was in the *haram* of Jahán-gír Bádsháh before he came to the throne.

‡ Islám Sháh built forts to retain his hold upon their country, and among those founded or repaired, and occupied, were Mán-Kot, Rashíd-Kot, and some others.

difficult the country in his front was, he was induced to endeavour to come to an accommodation with the Á'ẓam Humáyún and his tribe. He sent him a letter, accordingly, which the Á'ẓam Humáyún, now reduced to helplessness, favourably received. He despatched his mother and his son as hostages for himself, upon which Islám Sháh retired with his forces, and encamped at Ban, near Síál-Kot.*

The Kash-míri feudatories in Rájawarí now plotted to take the Á'ẓam Humáyún into Kash-mír and expel the Mughals; and he held counsel with his Afghán adherents about it. They thought favourably of it, and wished him to consent, but he refused to act hostilely towards Mírzá Ḥaidar, since he had, it is said, received some assistance from him in the shape of a sum of money for his necessities. The perfidious Kash-mírís, finding that the Á'zam Humáyún was helpless, and their objects not attainable by his means, gave intimation to Mírzá Ḥaidar that the Níázís were preparing to come against him with hostile intent. A numerous force of Kash-mírís was then sent to attack them. The small band of Afgháns stood their ground, and fought gallantly; and the wife of the Á'ẓam Humáyún, fighting like a man by the side of her husband, wounded one of the Kash-míri leaders. Their efforts were of no avail against such odds; and the Á'ẓam Humáyún, his wife, and his brothers, 'Ísá, Sháh-Báz, and Sa'id, were killed in the fight. Mírzá Ḥaidar is said to have sent the heads of the Níázís, and those of the other Afgháns, to Islám Sháh at Ban, on the Chin-áb; and thus was the Níází outbreak brought to a termination. I may mention that no reference is made to those events in the Tárikh-i-Rashídí of Mírzá Haidar.

About this time—a little before, or shortly after—in 956 or 957 H., for the exact date is not recorded, Khán Kajú overthrew and completely crushed the power of the Gwaríah Khel in the great battle at Shaikh Tapúr, as related at page 227 of Section Third.† At this time Humáyún Bádsháh was fully occupied with his brother, Kámrán Mírzá, but he overthrew him at Kabchák and Shutar-Grám‡, north of Kábul, in 957 H. (1550 A.D.). In the following year, 958 H. (1551 A.D.), having taken shelter with the Ghwaríah Khel, Kámrán Mírzá, and his Afghán allies, made the night attack upon Humáyún Bádsháh's camp, near the banks of the Kará-Sú or Siyah-Áb, in which Hindál Mírzá was killed, as related at page 54 of Section Second. Unable to continue with the Afgháns beyond the Indus, he presented himself before Islám Sháh at Láhor, after his return thither, subsequent to the reduction of the Gakhaṛs and Níázís. Not meeting with the reception he expected, he made his escape; and, after some more adventures, took shelter with Sulṭán Adam, the Gakhaṛ Zamíndár, who, to protect himself against Islám Sháh, was quite ready to betray his guest, in order to get the support of the Mughals.§ Humáyún Bádsháh being on an

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* It lies nineteen miles nearly N.E. from Síál-Koṭ, and nearly eight miles in the direction of S.W. from Jammúṇ, on the east bank of the Chin-áb.

† It is interesting, as well as important, to note the names of Afghán and other tribes, and sections of Afghán tribes, in alliance with the Ghwaríah Khel, on the one side, and with the Khas'hís on the other, or in the pay of, or acknowledging the sway of, Khán Kajú.

In the great battle of Shaikh Tapúr with the Khalíls and others of the Ghwaríah Khel, were the Zá Khel, Sarghalárṉí, Mulágorí, Shinwárí, and some others. Khán Kajú's sway, after his victory over the Ghwaríah Khel, extended east as far as Níl-áb, Sujanḍa'h, Gahep, Sú-hánah, and as far as the Máṛ-galah Pass, and the Gakhaṛ territory. That tribe, and Pakhla'í, acknowledged his superiority; and, at that time, the ruler of the last-named territory was Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, the Turk—a Ḳárlúgh. Sulṭán Adam, the Gakhaṛ, also found it convenient, at that period, to pay allegience to Khán Kajú, until he thought Humáyún Bádsháh was now becoming strong enough to protect him, and so he delivered up Kámrán Mírzá to him.

The forces Khán Kajú was able to bring into the field numbered upwards of 140,000 men, among which were included the Yúsufzí, Mandaṛ, Gagyání, and Tarkalárṉí Khas'hís, their Muḥammadzí, Jzadún, and Utmán Khel allies, and, of other tribes, the Mahyár, Mándoṛí, Waṛdag, Khaṭak, Rawárṉí, Kánsí, Mash-wárṉí, Parṉí, Rogháni, Sarkárṉí, Kákaṛ, Lúrṉí, Tarín, Daṣyárzí, and even some of the Abdálí. Besides these Afghán tribes, and others of Sayyid descent, there were Kas'hárs, Gibarís, Mutráwís, Mumíálís, Digáns, Gújars, and Áwáns. Besides these, the Dilázák Afgháns of the Ḥazárah territory and Mángaṛáo, Tor-Bela'h, and Ḥasan-i-Abdál, and other parts, would have joined his standard on being summoned.

The names of Afrídís or Wurakzís do not occur. The overthrow of the Ghwaríah Khel by Khán Kajú opened the way for other Afghán tribes settling farther north, and among them was the Khaṭak tribe, which, soon after, began to settle on the river of Kábul and the Indus where they now are.

The Níl-ábís, or people of Níl-áb, on the above occasion, were ranged on the side of the Ghwaríáh Khel. They are now dispersed, and perform the duties of boatmen on the Indus, above and below Aṭak.

‡ This name is what Erskine, "History of India," makes "*Ashterkerám*" of, and thus are names made unintelligible.

§ He also wanted support from them, in order to keep possession of his nephew's patrimony, which, as stated in a previous note, he had usurped. Báyazíd, the Byát, in his history of Humáyún Bádsháh, says, that Adam, the Gakhaṛ, was quite ready to join Humáyún on his crossing the Sind, because his son was in the power of the Afgháns. His son's name was Lashkarí, and has been mentioned in another place. The Gakhaṛs had been hostile to Bábar, who overthrew, and reduced them, on the occasion of his march to Bharah and Khush-áb, for previous to his invasion of those parts they, and one of their chiefs, Tatár, the Gakhaṛ, had submitted to Daulat Khán, the Lodí, governor of Láhor, and done homage to him. *See* also page 365.

expedition against the Karlární Afgháns of Bangas'h at this time, Adam, the Gakhar, gave him information, through his agent, Udharán by name, that Kámrán Mírzá was in his power, and that, if the Bádsháh would come into his territory, he would deliver him up. The Bádsháh accordingly moved to the Indus, crossed it near Dhan-Kot of the Níázís, and entered the Gakhar boundary, on which Kámrán Mírzá was given up, and deprived of his sight, in Rajab, the seventh month, of 959 H.* (1552 A.D.); for, in Sha'bán, the eighth month, of 959 H., the Bádsháh was at Bagrám in the Pas'háur district, having, on his way to Kábul, put the fort of Bagrám in repair, and left a garrison therein, with a specific object, and left Sikandar, the Úzbak, in command of the place, who, soon after, was invested therein by Khán Kajú, as related at page 228. The winter of 960 and 961 H. (1552-53 A.D.) the Bádsháh spent at Kábul; Islám Sháh died in Zí-Hijjah, the last month, of 961 H. (November, 1554 A.D.); and Humáyún Bádsháh finally advanced to recover Hindústán at the end of Muharram, the first month, of 962 H. (December, 1554 A.D.). Dihlí was re-occupied in Ramazán, 962 H. (July, 1555 A.D.); and Humáyún Bádsháh, after a fall from the staircase leading to his library, died in Rabí'-ul-Awwal, the third month, of 963 H. (January, 1555 A.D.).†

Before closing the account of the Níází tribe, I may mention that the Sunbal branch of it was very nearly exterminated by Haibat Khán, the Á'zam Humáyún, himself, in doing what he considered his duty to Sher Sháh.

At the time that the Á'zam Humáyún was governor of that portion of the Panj-áb appertaining to the Dihlí monarchy, and likewise governing Multán, Sher Sháh nominated his nephew, his brother's son by a slave girl, named Mubárak Khán, to the charge of that part of the territory of Roh—that is, on, and beyond the Indus—which was in the possession of the Níázi tribe.‡ At this time, Khwájah Khizr, the Sunbal Níází, dwelt on the banks of the Sind, on the side of Hind, near Makhad,§ in a mud fort which he had founded; and this he gave up to Mubárak Khán for his residence, and went himself elsewhere. The Sunbals continued to wait on him, and some of them to be in attendance, showed him due submission, and carried out his commands.

It so happened that a Sunbal, one Allah-dád by name, had a daughter, who had no equal in beauty throughout the whole of that clan; and her good looks were everywhere the theme of talk. Mubárak Khán, without having seen her, became enamoured on mere report. Not understanding, or perhaps forgetting, the pride of race existing among Afgháns of Roh of reputation and respectability, he despatched some confidential persons of his own to Allah-dád proposing an alliance, and asking the hand of his daughter in marriage. Allah-dád gave a respectful answer, saying, that the Hazrat-i-Khán held authority over the district, and that he must have in his *haram* noble females and female slaves; that the Khán had grown up in Hind, and possessed a refined taste and understanding, while his (Allah-dád's) child possessed only the rustic temperament and qualities of Roh, and therefore there was such a total inequality between them as rendered such a connection quite unsuitable.

This reply to his demand filled Mubárak Khán with rage and mortification; and he girded up his loins to annoy and vex the Sunbals, thinking, thereby, that they would become embarrassed, and induce Allah-dád to give him his daughter. When these acts reached the height of endurance, three cousins, uncle's sons of Allah-dád, Faríd, Nizám, and another, came into the presence of Mubárak Khán, and represented that they were held in great respect by the other Sunbals; that they had daughters, and would consent to give him one in marriage; and that he should refrain from his harsh and unjust treatment of the Sunbals. Mubárak Khán replied, "I do not want "a daughter of yours, but you can induce Allah-dád to give me his."

On this, finding he entertained an idea which could never be fulfilled, they told him plainly that "matrimonial alliances had repeatedly taken place between his tribe and "their own, but equal with equal: the free-born with the free-born: the slave with the "slave, as the poet says:—'Birds of a feather fly together: pigeons with pigeons: "'falcons with falcons;' and that although, in point of years, relationship was not "altogether on an equality, nevertheless, as their mother, like his, Mubárak Khán's "mother, was a slave girl, out of reverence for the sovereign, his uncle, they had offered

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* Not in 960 H., as Erskine has, because, even by his own account, *after* Kámrán was blinded, Humáyún marched to Bagrám, where he arrived in the eighth month of 959 H.

Some historians have Ramazán, which is the *ninth* month, which is evidently a mistake for Rajab, as all agree about his reaching Bagrám in the following month.

† The year 963 H. began on the 15th of November, 1555 A.D.

‡ *See* page 359.

§ Towards, or in the direction of, Makhad is meant.

"him a daughter in marriage, so that the dust of enmity and bad feeling might be "removed; and they were much distressed to find that the great Khán declined their "offer." They, however, exhorted him "to fear God's displeasure, and to cease "oppressing the Afgháns; since Allah-dád was a well-born man, who would never "consent to such an alliance with him, even if he lost his life by so doing."

Mubárak Khán, filled with wrath at the cutting remarks of the brothers, and with the pride of authority, became still more hostile towards the Sunbals; and he began to oppress them more and more. At length, without any reason soever, he plundered the village of Dahwál belonging to them, seized the people, and carried off the daughter of a man named Khairú, who was the house-born slave of one of the Sunbals, who was headman of the village in question, and carried her away to his quarters. On this, the chief men of the Sunbals proceeded in a body to the presence of Mubárak Khán, and said that the honour of their females was to them the same as the honour of his to himself; and requested him to give up the daughter of Khairú, and preserve the honour of their women. All the humble solicitations and entreaties of the Sunbals were of no avail; and, as the fate of Mubárak Khán was about to be fulfilled, he refused to accede to their demand. They, finding that their demand was not going to be complied with, opened their minds to him in very plain terms. They said, "You were born in Hind, and know not the ways and customs of the Afgháns. "The heron, hitherto, has not ventured to tyrannize over the falcon. We, out of "respect to the sovereignty of your uncle, show respect to you, who are the son of a "bond woman. Leave us alone, and do not oppress us beyond bounds, and let this "woman go." Mubárak, boiling with rage, replied, "You constantly refer to the "honour of this house-born slave's son, but you will soon become aware that I will "take the daughter of Allah-dád from his dwelling by force, and carry her away." The wrath of the headmen of the Sunbals, at this speech, became aroused, and they replied to Mubárak Khán fiercely, saying, "Have pity on your own life, and put not your foot "beyond your mark; for, if you dare to cast your eyes towards our females, we will "slay you, even though the chief men of the Sunbals should perish in consequence." Mubárak Khán, on this, directed his Hindí doorkeepers to drive the Sunbals from his presence, that they dared to reply to him in that style; but, when they took up their sticks to carry out his orders, a scuffle ensued, and the Sunbal youths, who were tired of tyranny and oppression, and their anger aroused, fell upon them, and then and there they slew Mubárak Khán and the greater number of his servants.

When information of this reached the ears of Sher Sháh, he wrote to the Á'ẕam Humáyún, Haibat Khán, saying, "Among the Afgháns the family of Súr are but few "in number, and, if every other Afghán should slay a Súr, not one of them will be left "in the world.* The Sunbals are of your own tribe, therefore do you punish them, so "that others may take warning, and not follow their bad example of slaying Ḥákims "or governors."

When this *farmán* reached the Á'ẕam Humáyún, he marched a force against the Sunbals, and the Sunbals, hearing of his coming, abandoned their lands, and took refuge in the strong and difficult tract of Pus'h or Pus'ht,† determining that they would take their families and dependents with them, and retire towards the province of Kábul, and seek a home therein. The Á'ẕam Humáyún, having become aware of their determination, was filled with concern; and he held counsel with his people, saying, "The Sunbals are brave men, and a numerous clan, and cannot be reduced by force; "and, if they depart towards Kábul, Sher Sháh will conclude, that, because they were "of my tribe, I neglected to stop them, and that they left their country at my instigation. Such being the case, it is necessary to have recourse to dissimulation and "stratagem in order to get at them." He accordingly despatched his Wakíl or Agent to the Sunbals; and in his *parwánah* addressed to them stated that he had made investigation, and found that what had happened was no fault of theirs, and that the whole was caused by Mubárak Khán's tyranny and oppression. "I will send you," he said, "to the presence of Sher Sháh, and will solicit him to forgive you for what "has happened; and, as is the custom among the Afgháns, I will give a certain "number of Níází daughters to the Súrs, and so heal the feud, or Sher Sháh will "put two or three of your headmen to death, but for the whole clan to go into exile "is not desirable."

The Sunbals, in reply, stated that they were in a very difficult position. "If the

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* Compare the version in Elliot's "Historians," Vol. IV., pages 428 to 432, which I must say is a *very free* translation of the original.

† See page 82, and the remarks on the mountain range, the boundary of the true Afghánistán, in the following Section.

" Súrs," they said, " had come against us to take revenge, we would have met them in " fair fight, and have shown our superiority over them, and thereby left a great name " behind us, the Sunbal Níázís having shown such valour and intrepidity. But, if we " oppose you, who are also a Níází, Níázís on both sides will perish; and, on the other " hand, if we depart [towards Kábul], you will get a bad name; for it will be said " that, as we were of your own tribe, by your favour and connivance we managed to " get away. If you, the Á'ẓam Humáyún, will bind yourself on oath, that you will " not seek to afflict us, then we will come and present ourselves before you." He sent them a reply, saying, " Have I no regard for the honour of my own tribe that I " should seek to afflict and ruin you?" and he swore accordingly not to injure them. The Sunbals, on this, returned with their families and dependents, and appeared before the Á'ẓam Humáyún. He seeing that, by this stratagem, he had got the whole of the Sunbals and their families into his power, brought them to Bahír,* where he put 900 of them to death. At the time of slaying them the other Níázís said to some of the Sunbals to whom they were related: " We will let you escape; fly there- " fore." They, however, were true to the honour of the Afgháns, and replied: " To be " slaughtered along with our clan and families is better for us than to live dis- " honoured; for it is a well known proverb that, ' To die together is like being at a " ' feast."

Having put to the sword the greater part of the Sunbal clan, the Á'ẓam Humáyún despatched their families and dependents to the presence of Sher Sháh; and he, being a well-wisher of the Sunbal clan, did not approve of this base act on the part of the Á'ẓam Humáyún, and observed that, among the Afghán tribes, such an act of baseness had never before been committed. " The Á'ẓam Humáyún cannot " nourish thoughts of sovereignty since he has slain so many of his tribe; for, if he " did, he never would have shown such haste in shedding the blood of so many of " his own people so unjustly."† Sher Sháh had been meditating the removal of the Á'ẓam Humáyún from the government of the Panj-áb (being suspicious of his entertaining such an idea apparently), but he had not time, hitherto, to carry out his intention, and shortly after this event he died. After the decease of Sher Sháh the Á'ẓam Humáyún, it is said by the Khowáṣ Khán party, did propose to assume sovereignty, the particulars of which have been already narrated.

To return to the movements of the remaining Níázís, after the suppression of their outbreak, and death of the Á'ẓam Humáyún and his brothers. Their movements are not altogether clear; for there are no records of their doings, but it is very evident that, during that rebellion, some part of the tribe suffered more than others, from the fact that only a portion of the tribe are now found on the banks of the Indus. The account given by Muḥammad Hai'át, Kaṭhar, in his book, of their *subsequent movements* is really that of their *first immigration* into these parts, as I have before narrated, and, as I think, I shall presently be able to show. It would seem that great part of those Níázís whose homes were on the west side of the Indus continued to dwell there, even during those troubles, and after the rebellion had been suppressed; for Islám Sháh never molested them there, nor made any attempt to occupy the Níází districts. He had plenty to occupy his attention elsewhere; besides, in case of attack, they had the mountains of Roh, or Pus'h or Pus'ht, to retire to, as the Sunbals had previously done.

The territory west of the Indus did not come under the rule of Akbar Bádsháh

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* Compare " Elliot," Vol. IV., page 432. In the original the word is without points: I cannot find it in our maps.

† The unfortunate Sunbals were again almost exterminated in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-Á'lam-gír, in the year 1073 H. (1662–63 A.D.). The particulars are as follow:—

" The Sunbal, or, as the word is sometimes written, Sunbhal clan, are an offshoot of the Níázís, and dwell on the western side of the river [the Sind or Indus], but, in times gone by, a small number of them had passed the Níl-áb, and taken up their residence in Dhan-Koṭ [here is another statement showing that Dhan-Koṭ was on the east bank of the river]. As they had evinced a rebellious spirit, Aurang-zeb Bádsháh instructed the Fowjdár of that part to remove them altogether from the district to the opposite side of the river. This had been done. Again it was reported that they had begun to be troublesome; and a large body of them had the boldness to cross the river into the Panj-áb, where they attacked the imperial Thánah or military post on the east bank, slew the Thánah-dár, Khalíl by name, and possessed themselves of the place. The rage of Aurang-zeb Bádsháh was roused; and Fidá'í Khán, the Mír-i-Átash, or Master of the Ordnance [the same who in after years became Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, and is mentioned elsewhere], with his artillery, and other forces, were despatched from the Bádsháh's camp on the Chin-áb, he being at the time in Kash-mír, to punish them."

The Sunbals, getting information of their coming, had for the most part crossed the Níl-áb, with their families and moveable property, but a portion of them stood their ground and were killed. The rest of their property and cattle fell into the hands of the troops, and must have been considerable and valuable, since it is stated that that portion which was appropriated to the State was valued at two lákhs of rúpís.

" Nakhjír Khán, an officer serving in the Kábul Ṣúbah, had also been directed to co-operate with his troops. On his arrival on the scene, he was made Fowjdár of that part, and Fidá'í Khán was directed to return."

until the the thirtieth year of his reign, although English writers generally imagine that he acquired the province of Kábul at the time of his accession, after his father's death. The territory of Kábul and its dependencies, consisting of the *Tománs* of Ghaznín, Bangas'h, Gardaiz, Nangnahár, and Bagrám, or Pas'háur,* as it was also called, as far east as the Indus, and some other tracts, were the appanage of his brother, Muḥammad Ḥakím Mírzá, who was quite independent of his brother, and, more than once, invaded the Panj-áb. At his death, in 993 H. (1585 A.D.), the Kábul territory was annexed; and it remained in the possession of the Mughal sovereigns of Dihlí until all their territories west of the Indus were ceded to Nádir Sháh.

Subsequently, the territory west of the Indus inhabited by the 'Ísá Khel Níázís, as at present constituted, through which lay the then northern route by Pes'háwar to Kábul—for, until Akbar Bádsháh set out towards Kábul in 989 H. (1581 A.D.), after his brother, Muḥammad Ḥakím Mírzá, had invaded the Panj-áb, when the route by the Khaibar defile, which used to be infested by the Táríkís, was ordered to be improved, Aṭak Banáras was not founded—together with Dawaṛ and Bannú or Bannúṇ, through which the route to Kábul, and the routes to Ghaznín, by Upper Bangas'h, lay, formed, nominally, one *Sarkár*,† but the allegiance of its inhabitants was not implicitly to be depended on, without full power to enforce it. The rest of the tract of mountainous country, stretching downwards to the south from the Níází country, Bannú, and Bangas'h, as far as the northern boundary of the Bhakhar *Sarkár* of Multán, now known as Upper Sind; and from the Indus westwards, as far as the eastern boundaries of the *Tománs* of the Ṣúba'h of Kábul and *Sarkárs* of the Ṣúbah of Ḳandahár—Síwí was subsequently annexed to Ḳandahár—constituting the whole of the true Afghánistán, in which was Pus'h or Pus'ht whither the Sunbals had fled, *never* came under the sway of any of the Mughal sovereigns of the house of Tímúr who sat on the throne of Dihlí, save when an army entered any part, on any particular expedition, or for any express purpose; and with its disappearance, often after it had sustained disaster, even such nominal allegiance ceased. Such has been the state of that tract of country down to the present hour: the Afgháns have continued to enjoy their rude independence, which has led a few writers, one copying the other, to christen the Afghánistán "Yághistán"—namely, "the country of rebels," an inconsistency to which I have previously alluded.

Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, says, in his book, that the remnant of the Níázís, *after the outbreak was crushed*, fled to their kinsmen in Ṭánk, and that they dwelt with them many years; then, that they left that part and dwelt for nearly thirty years in the Thal, now known as Thal of the Marwats and Marwat, and subsequently issued from the Tang Dara'h, and dispersed over the country on either side of the Sind. Then he says, that the Níází rebellion began in 954 H. and lasted six years, thus bringing us to 960 H., as the time they fled to Ṭák or Ṭánk. Then, if we only allow twenty years for his "many years" that they dwelt there, and "nearly thirty years" for their sojourn in the Thal, we should reach the year 1010 H.‡ But what are the historical facts of which we have undoubted record?

The "Á'ín-i-Akbarí," containing a complete and detailed survey of the empire of Akbar Bádsháh, was completed in the forty-second year of his reign, or the year 1005 H. (1596–97 A.D.). The materials for it had, of course, been obtained some time before, since Rájah Todar Mal, who superintended the revenue system, and carried it out, died in 998 H., seven years previously. At that time, the northern half of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah constituted the Sind-Ságar Sarkár, so called, of the Ṣúbah, or province, of the Panj-áb, or Láhor.§ This Sind-Ságar Sarkár contained forty-two

* But not extending very far from that place, not beyond the river of Kábul northwards. Even nearer the city his rule was but partial, and depended on the number of troops stationed there to enforce it.

† The late Mr. W. H. Blochmann, in the text of his edition of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, through want of local knowledge, has fallen into some great errors respecting people and places in these parts. For example, he calls the Sarkár immediately west of the Sind-Ságar Sarkár, "دورونیون and 'Ísá Khel," which can only be read by the uninitiated, if they can make it out at all, as *Dorúníún*, for he has put three words into one, and the last or third word is incorrect. What is referred to is "*Dawaṛ*—دوړ *and*—و—*Bannúṇ*—بنوں" but for the latter he has Níún—نیون—instead. He gives various readings, but, in all, the three words are understood as one; and he, of course, could not make it out. The printed text of the Akbar Náma'h is equally defective, and in that we have نیور instead of بنون.

Although Bannú or Bannúṇ—the "*n*" being nasal—formed part of the Sarkár above referred to, Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, asserts that Bannú "was only conquered in Bahádur Sháh's time." Respecting this so-called conquest, which was no conquest at all, but quite the contrary, *see* page 372.

‡ See page 355. Sher Sháh's nephew, Mubárak Khán, whom the Sunbal Níázís put to death, was placed in charge of the Níází territory immediately on the Indus, about, or before, 950 H.

§ In the copies of the text I have examined, this Ṣúbah is called the Ṣúbah of the Panj-áb only.

mahálls, or *parganahs*, or districts, one of which was Khush-áb on the Jhilam, the inhabitants of which were 'Ísá Khel and other Níází Afgháns, who paid 1,80,704 *dáms* of revenue, and who are rated as able to furnish 500 horse and 3,000 foot* for militia purposes; and it by no means appears that they were fresh arrivals therein. This is from five to ten years, at least, *before* the time Hai'át, the Kaṭhar, states that they "issued from the Tang Dara'h, and dispersed on either side of the Sind." Furthermore, in the thirty-second year of Akbar Bádsháh, namely, in 995 H. (1587 A.D.), an expedition was sent under the command of 'Abd-ul-Muṭallab† Khán, son of Sháh Budágh, and other commanders, to root out Jalálah and the schismatic Táríkís from Bangas'h. Kábul and its dependencies as far east as the Indus had only been lately annexed, and Akbar Bádsháh was in the Panj-áb. After the Kuṉwar, Mán Singh, had penetrated into the defiles west of Pas'háur, in pursuit of the Táríkís, as related in Section Two, page 46, of these "Notes," and had had such difficulty in withdrawing therefrom, he did not think it advisable to enter them again, and so he took up his station at Jam-Rúd, near the entrance of the Khaibar defile. This inaction on his part was displeasing to the Bádsháh, and, therefore, another force was organized against the Táríkís, which was to enter the mountains from the Panj-áb, by way of Bangas'h, while Mán Singh was ordered to co-operate from the side of Bagrám or Pas'háur.

Early in the month of April the troops set out from their quarters in the Panj-áb; and, when they reached the Sind near Sunbala'h, Zangaey Khán, and others of the Níází Afgháns, who dwelt in that neighbourhood, joined the Bádsháh's officers (with their contingents); and they crossed the Sind at the Chaupárah Ferry, and entered the lands of the 'Ísá Khel. Fírúz Khán, Jamál Khan, 'Alí Khán, and other chief men of that part (Níázís), also came and presented themselves before the Bádsháh's commander. It was deemed advisable, after consultation, that this force should enter Upper Bangas'h, by way of Dawar, to Baghzaṉ; and, after reaching that part, to act against the Táríkís. This was done; and a victory was gained over them which I have not space here to describe.

Here we have the Níázís, including the 'Ísá Khel, dwelling precisely in the same places as they dwelt in immediately before, and, at the time of the Á'ẕam Humáyún's outbreak, fifteen years before the earliest date given by Hai'át, the Kaṭhar, for the remnant of them *first reaching the Indus*, and for the 'Ísá Khel *first taking up* their residence where they are still located on its west bank. It is also very clear that, at the period above referred to, the Níázís had long been settled in these parts.

Subsequent to the expedition before mentioned, in 1003 H. (1594–95 A.D.), seven years before Hai'át, the Kaṭhar, says they first came, the 'Ísá Khel having misbehaved themselves in some way, the particulars of which are not given, and, in the month of August of that year,‡ Tásh Beg Khán, was despatched with a force from the Bádsháh's camp to chastise them, but, through illness, he was unable, effectually, to carry out his instructions. We must suppose he was not successful, otherwise the details would have been given.

But I need not confine myself to Akbar Bádsháh's reign to prove what I before stated, namely, that the Níázís, including the 'Ísá Khel, had been established on the Indus ages before the time Hai'át, the Kaṭhar, pretends they were. I will go back a century or more.

In the very first expedition undertaken by Bábar Bádsháh from Kábul in the direction of Hind, which he undertook in Sha'bán—the eighth month—of 910 H. (February, 1505 A.D.), having reached the province, and visited the city of Bagrám (Pas'háur), he held consultation with his officers as to their next movements. A raid on Koháṭ, the name of which place, he says, he then heard for the first time, was

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* In some copies, 7,000.

† Not "Abd-ul-Maṭlab" Khán: the name is that of the grandfather of the prophet, Muḥammad, and hence Musalmáns have adopted it. He was commander of 2,500, or rather, such was his rank. This, of course, is no criterion of the number of troops he commanded on this occasion, or might be called upon to command. His father, Sháh Budágh—but, although styled "Sháh," he was not a king—was at first in Kámrán Mírzá's service, and came of one of the Turk *í-máks* or tribes dwelling in the Mían-Kál district of Bukhárá.

Mr. Blochmann here, again, falls into a terrible error respecting this person. He says, in a notice of him in the "Translation of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí," that he was "*a descendant of Uymáq Kál* of Samarquand." In a note he adds to, and clinches, the error. He says, "There were two tribes of the Qarú Turks called *úymák*. "They were renowned in India as horsemen. Hence ímák, as the word is spelt by Mughal historians, means "*a kind of superior cavalry*. . . . The meaning of *Miyán Kál* is still unclear to me. To judge from "Abulfazl's phrase, it must be the name of the head or founder of a clan," etc. No wonder it was not clear to him. I wonder what he would have made of the Chhár Í-máḳ near Hirát. [redacted]

Mián-Kál is one of the seven *tománs* or districts of Bukhárá, not the "head" nor "founder of a clan," and is situated between that city and Samr-ḳand, and is remarkable for its verdure. It will be further noticed in the last Section of these "Notes." Í-máḳ, which he spells "Uymáq," is merely the Turkish for *tribe*.

‡ Towards its close, for the year commenced 5th September, 1594 A.D.

determined on. Subsequently, after moving in different directions around, making forays, he marched into Bannú, "through which," he says, "the river of Bangas'h [*i.e.*, the Kurma'h] flows and fertilizes." Then he continues: "To the southward of "Bannú is Chaupárah, and the Sind river, to the east is Dín-Koṭ [*i.e.*, Dhan-Koṭ], "and to the west is a *dasht*—a plain or open level country—called Bázár and Ṭák. "These parts are cultivated by the Afghán tribes of Karání [Karlární he means], and "the tribes of Gíwí, Súr, Níází, and [he makes two of them] 'Ísá Khel."* The Gíwí, he says elsewhere, were located in the hills on the north of Bannú, the chief of which tribe, at that time, was Shádaey Khán.†

"When first the raid into Koháṭ was determined upon," he says, "it was agreed "that, having harried the Afgháns of Bannú and Bangas'h, the force should return "either by way of Baghzan to Kábul, or by Furmúl, but, after the Bannú affair, people "acquainted with the country represented that the *dasht* (or plain country) was close at "hand; that the people were well off; the tract of country populous; the routes "good; and that one leading from it came out on the Furmúl route." So it was agreed, first to enter the *dasht*, and afterwards to return by the route to Furmúl. The Bádsháh continues:—"Having marched next day (from the Bannú territory), we "followed the course of the river before mentioned (the river of Kurma'h), and "encamped on the banks thereof at the village of the 'Ísá Khel.‡ The latter, having "heard of our approach, took to the mountains of Chaupárah; and we, having "marched from the village of the 'Ísá Khel, moved towards the foot of the hills (of "Chaupárah),§ and there pitched our camp. The light troops entered the mountains, "and destroyed the *sangars* or breastworks which the 'Ísá Khel had raised, and "brought in numbers of horses, sheep, a quantity of grain, and furniture and "apparel. This same night the Í'sá Khel made a night attack upon our camp, but I "had taken such precautions during this expedition as to advance pickets, and the "going of rounds during the night-time, one of which I always went myself, that the "attack was of no consequence."

"Having marched from the skirts of the mountains towards the west, we encamped "in the dry bed of a river, between Bannú and the *dasht*. The troops dug wells (pits) "for themselves and horses, and found water at the depth of about a *gaz*, or a *gaz* and "a half.‖ Having marched from this dry river bed, by the time of afternoon prayer "the light troops had reached the villages of the *dasht*."

Before bringing this subject to a close, it will be well to notice further the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, which constituted a Sarkár of the Ṣúbah of the Panj-áb, or Láhor, in the revenue settlement of Akbar Bádsháh detailed in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí. It contained, as I have before remarked, forty-two *maḥálls* or *parganahs*, one of which was Khush-áb, and another Ḥawelí-i-Ruhtás, that is to say, the small town or cluster of habitations contained near the centre of the area enclosed within the walls of that mighty fortress, and the villages dependent on it. In MSS. of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, Khush-áb and Ḥawelí-i-Ruhtás, being written close to each other, some copyists have confused them, putting one in the place of the other. For example, the inhabitants of the Khush-áb *maḥáll* were 'Ísá Khel and other Níázís, who were rated at 500 horse, and 3,000 foot, for militia purposes, but, for the reason above stated, in some copies, these occur under the head of Ḥawelí-i-Ruhtás instead, whereas its inhabitants were "Bagí-ál Gakhaṛs"¶ in some copies, and "Kangírs" in others.

At this period, Dhan-Koṭ, to which the Níázís fled for shelter after their defeat at

* Such being the fact, Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, nevertheless presumes to tell us, that it is "the descendants," of the 'Í'sá Khán, brother of the Á'ẓam Humáyún, who was only born several years after Bábar's raid, "who are known as the 'Ísá Khel." He also says that he ('Ísá Khán) was the Mushír-i-Kháṣ—Privy Councellor—of Sher Sháh, a statement equally incorrect. The 'Ísá Khán referred to was a Sarwání Afghán, not a Níází; and he was the Ḥájib or Chamberlain, not a Mushír, such a title being unknown at that time in India, and among the Afgháns.

† Gíwí is a sub-tribe or section of the Shítak tribe, known as Bannútsís, descended from Gíwaey, son of Shítak, the progenitor of the Shítak Karlárnís.

‡ The ancient village of Ṭíṭa'í is here referred to.

§ He refers to the Lowá-Ghaṛ range mentioned farther on. There were no Khaṭaks in this part at the period in question: they were dwelling farther to the south-west, on the frontier of the Bannú territory. It seems to me that Chaupárah refers to the present Khaṭak district known as Tsautara'h, for a foreigner would not be likely, at once, to realize the sound of "*ts*" of the Pus'hto. Perhaps it is an error of the copyists, but it is thus written, with long, instead of short, "*a*" in the original Turkish. My reason for this supposition is, that the northern part of the Lowá-Ghaṛ bounds the Tsautara'h district on the south-east.

‖ *See* the chukkars mentioned at page 324.

¶ The author of these surveys writes the name more correctly, Bhaghí-ál; and he says they are a large tribe of Jaṭs, not Gakhaṛs, and when he wrote, amounted to close upon 10,000 families, the chief of whom was then called Sarfaráz Khán. They still inhabited the Ruhtás *parganah*. Respecting the termination "*ál*," see note §, page 275.

Anbálah, was inhabited by the Janjúhah or Janhúah; and it is described as situated on the *east* bank of the Mihrán, or Sind-Ságar, or Sind, as it is variously named.

In what the author calls Berún-i-Panj-Nad, that is, apparently, beyond the river, or rather in the deltas of the river,* is the separate *mahall* of Bilúṭ [Bilúts],† whose inhabitants are set down as Bilúṭ [Bilúts] Afgháns, who are rated at 100 horsemen, and 1,000 foot, for militia purposes.

The clans of the Hút Balúch tribe inhabited the *mahall* of Kul-Bahák, or Kul-Bahálak, as it is also written, and they were rated as able to furnish 200 horsemen, and 1,000 foot. This *mahall* occurs in the same column with that of Gahep, the inhabitants of which were the Janhúah or Janjúah; and hence, in the same way that Khush-áb and Hawelí-i-Ruhtás have been confounded one with the other, confusion occurs here, and the Húts occasionally appear as inhabiting the Gahep *mahall*, but the majority of copies have them as I have entered them, and the printed text generally agrees therewith.

Besides the Hút Balúchís, Níázís, Janhúah or Janjúhah, Gakhars, Dilazáks, Turks, Khokhars, and Kaṭhars, the other tribes inhabiting the Sind-Ságar *Sarkár* of the Ṣúba'h of the Panj-áb, contained in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, are, Awáns, Malánahs, Kangírs, Khamínahs, and Bagí-ál; and in the "Berún-i-Panj-Nad, in the two other *mahalls* "of Káhlúr and Sahlúr, are Chandels, and some others."‡

In respect to numbers, the Janhúahs—Bábar Bádsháh's Júds and Janjúhahs—Khokhars, Awáns, and Gakhars, appear to predominate. The Khokhars, formerly a far more numerous race, and who, just before the time of the sovereignty of Sulṭán Bahlúl, the Lodí, dominated Láhor and parts around, now appear to be most numerous in the Chin-haṭ§ Do-ábah of the Panj-áb *Sarkár*, and the Bíst-Jálandhar Do-ábah of the Multán *Sarkár*.

English writers, with one or two rare exceptions, as previously remarked, invariably make Gakhars of the Khokhars, and know no difference between them; and now the Gakhar chiefs, since they were "invited" to send in an account of their families, have, to glorify themselves, with rare assurance, begun to follow the example. A specimen of the formers' mistakes is contained in Dr. Hunter's book, entitled "The Indian Empire," previously alluded to. He says, at page 218, that "the wild *Ghakkar* [for so he spells "Gakhar] tribe burst into the camp [of Maḥmúd of Ghaznín], and slaughtered nearly "4,000 Musalmans;" and "Briggs" is quoted. Again, at page 222, he says, respecting the Sulṭán, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, the Ghúrí, whom he calls "Muhammad of Ghor," that, "In 1203, the *Ghakkars* issued from their mountains, took Lahore, "and devastated the whole province." Then, that, "In 1206, a party of the *same* "*clan* swam the Indus, on the bank of which the *Afghan* [another error for Ghúríán] "camp was pitched, and stabbed the Sultan while he was asleep in his tent." This too is "Firishta," according to Briggs: not Muḥammad Ḳásim, surnamed Firishtah, for he has neither "*Afghan camp*," nor "*Ghakkars*," for he knew better. In a foot note Dr. Hunter quotes Sir H. Elliot's "Muhammadan Historians," Vols. II., pp. 233–235, and V., p. 163, to prove this statement, but, unfortunately for the writer's correctness, Sir H. Elliot, *in both instances quoted*, has Khokhars.‖ Dr. Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer," as a matter of course, contains these same great errors, but there are very

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* I say deltas between the different branches of the Sind or Indus, because a large tract of country, formerly on the west but *now* on the *east* bank, formed, at the period in question, part of the lands of the 'Ísá Khel and Bannú *Sarkár*. The river for a long period of time has been encroaching westwards, and is now so close to the mountains in the territory of the 'Ísá Khel and Khassúr Afgháns, that it can scarcely encroach more than it has done in that direction.

† Writing the word, as a foreigner and Hindústání would probably do, with Hindí "ṭ" for Afghán "*ts*."

‡ In some copies of the text غزال *ghaz-ál*, but, as no such people are named anywhere else, the word has, therefore, been read as two words, namely, غیر آن *ghair-i-án*, signifying "others besides," or "et cetera."

§ In Blochmann's printed text of the Á'ín this word is invariably written or rather printed *Jin-haṭ*; and he gives different readings, showing he was in doubt about it, but they are all wrong. As I have elsewhere mentioned, a scribe writing carelessly, or with a full pen, is liable to turn the three points of چ into ج, but the Chin-haṭ Do-ábah, and the place which takes its name from it, are so well known, that the blunder is the more surprising. Chin-haṭ was taken by the Bengal portion of General Wish's force, immediately after the capture of Multán, in February, 1849, when he was on his way to join Lord Gough. The Bombay column followed soon after. The derivation of Chin-haṭ I have given elsewhere. It appears in the Indian Atlas map as "*Chunceot*."

‖ The editor of his work here referred to, the late Mr. Dowson, in one place, however, endeavours to make out Sir H. Elliot in the wrong. After the word Khokhar, and Kokar, as the authors of the Táríkh-i-Alfí write it, had appeared scores of times before in the work, and in different accounts of the very same events, at page 166 of Vol. V., the editor has the following, in a foot note to the word Kokar. "This tribe is variously "denominated by Muhammadan authors, Kúkar, Kokar, Gakkar, Ghikar, Ghakar. The last appears to be "the most correct . . . . Elphinstone in his "Cabul," page 78, says that on the spot they call themselves

many more of a similar kind in the compilation named above.* *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Náṣiri," page 485, note 3.

It will be well, I think, in the interest of authentic history, to examine this question somewhat further, in order to correct the very erroneous statements respecting these so-called "Ghakkars" and their feats.

In the article on the family of "*Raja* Karim Dad, Ghakkar," contained in Mr. (now Sir) Lepel Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," page 573, he commences by saying, "No Panjab tribe is more frequently mentioned in Indian history than the *Ghakkars*, "who, for many hundred years, were the possessors of great power, and a wide extent "of country."

It is necessary here, however, to substitute *Khokhars*, or, as non-Indian historians call them, *Kokars*, for they are the powerful people alluded to, who, for a considerable period, dominated the Láhor province, and Díbál-púr, and at times even threatened Dihlí itself, not the Gakhars.

In another place (page 574) Griffin relates what they (the Gakhars) *say of themselves and their antecedents*. They state that their ancestor, Kabil *Khan*, obtained employment under Sabaktugin [the Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, whose Turkish name was Sabuk-Tigín, is referred to], long previous to which they had become Musalmans; and that Kabil *Khan*'s son, "*Ghakkar Shah*, from whom the tribe derived its name, "accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni to India, at the beginning of the eleventh century, "and obtained leave to settle his tribe, then very numerous, at Chana Ponir, now Ram "Kot, on the Jhelam." In a foot note, Griffin says, that "their early history, as "related by themselves, is purely fabulous." Of this there can be no question when one of them is styled "Khan," before such a word was ever used, except for purely Turkish rulers, and his son "Shah," a title applicable to sovereigns and Sayyids.

Griffin adds, however, that, "where Ghakkar history makes the *founder of the tribe* "to be an officer in Mahmud Shah's [*sic*] army, Firishta records [or rather, Dow and "Briggs for him], that 30,000 *Ghakkars* penetrated the Muhamadan camp, and were "with difficulty repulsed after Mahmud had lost 5,000 men."

Here is the primary cause of all the succeeding blunders respecting them. Firishtah's chronicle has *Khokhars*, not "Ghakkars," but Dow has "*Gickers*" and Briggs "*Gukkurs*." It is the powerful tribe of Khokhar who are referred to.

In another place (p. 589), Griffin says, respecting the *Kokhar* tribe—for *he* does mention them separately—that "nothing is known of them previous to 1623, when "Dadan *Khan*, a Kokhar *Rajput* in the service of Jahangir, settled on the Jhelam "at the foot of the Salt Range, then known as the hills of Jodh [Koh-i-Júd, or Júd "Mountains]," while at page 562 he had already stated, that "The Awans, the "*Khokars* [he spells the word in two different ways], and the Khattars, seem to have "had a common origin, all tracing their pedigree back to Kutb *Shah*, who may have "lived about the beginning of the eleventh century, and who probably came to India "with one of the invading armies of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznivi."

Here, Gakhaṛ should have been substituted for Khokhar, according to Griffin's own previous statements. This Kutb *Shah* is said, by him, to have had nine sons, one of whom was "*Khokar*." Then he continues, "From *Khokar* have descended the "*Khokars* of Hafizabad in the Gujranwala district, in no way connected with the "*Kokhars* of Pind Dadan Khan who are of Rujput descent."

Here it will be noticed that he makes two tribes out of one people—the "Khokars" and the "Kokhars"—but he is quite mistaken; the Khokhars or Kokars are one tribe, and one people, although now separately located.

There are Khokhars in the Chin-hat Do-ábah of the Panj-áb, located in the most northern part of it, and some, to the number of about 20,000 families, were dwelling along the east bank of the Wihat or Jhilam, when these surveys, which I have been describing in these "Notes," were made. About the same number of Khokhars then dwelt in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in and around Khúsh-áb, Bharah, and Aḥmad-ábád, while the Gakhars dwell in and about Khán-púr and Sayyid-Wálah, farther north-west.

There are numbers of Khokhars scattered about in other parts of the Panj-áb, some of whom dwell among the Sí-áls in the Rich-náb Do-ábah.

Captain Wace, a Settlement Officer in the Panj-áb, some years since, in his Report on the Settlement of a part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, tells us "that the *Gakhars*

"Gukkhúr; Khokars are quite different. But it is evident that in this passage, as in others, the Kokars are "meant for Ghakars."

[redacted]

* See note ††, page 287.

"*were one of the oldest and most powerful of the Hindu dynasties* of the Panjab *at* "*the time* when Mahamadanism (as he spells Muḥammadanism) was first introduced "into India, about A.D. 1000, by Mahmud of Ghazni, *has been well established* [this, "it will be observed, is *directly contrary* to the Gakhar account of themselves] by all of India's historians;" and, immediately after, "all of India's historians" turn out to be "*Murray's History of India*," which is a mere compilation from Dow and Briggs, for "*all* of India's" native "historians" say differently. Captain Wace has fallen into the usual error, and has mistaken *Khokhars* for Gakhars, for the former are the powerful race referred to by the historians.

Another proof of how the two people have been mistaken one for the other and their histories confused is shown in MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., in which several pages are devoted to the *Gakhars*, who, he says, "inhabit portions of the "Hazára, Jhelam, and Ráwal Pindí districts of the Panjab;" and the name of *Khokhar* is not to be found in his work, but their history, such as it is, has been given to the Gakhars.

In Part II. of the same work, in an article on the "Kákar" Afgháns, page 475, we are told that a "strong branch of them, *now known* as the *Gákars*, are located on "the Jhélam in Kashmir." This astounding statement, however, can scarcely be meant to refer to the Hindí "*Gakhars*" of the previous paragraph.

Here is another specimen of the very misty ideas which still prevail respecting these two peoples and their history. In Elliot's "Memoirs on the History, Folk-lore, and Distribution of the Races of the North-West Provinces of India," vol. 1, page 99, he says, respecting the Gújar clan of the North-West Provinces, that "the Ráwul "Gújars of Panípat say that they are descended from a *Khokhar* Rajput (*a clan which* "*has been considered to be the same as the notorious* Ghakkar)." Here too the "notorious clan" refers to the Khokhars; and I may add that they have only been *considered to be the same*, because Dow and Briggs, in their versions of Firishtah's chronicle, not knowing the difference, invariably turned Khokhars into "*Gickers*" and "*Gukkurs*" respectively; and because compilers of Indian history constantly quote their versions since no others are accessible to them, but the original, notwithstanding, has *Khokhars*, not "Gickers," nor "Gukkurs."

In Elliot's work, just referred to, page 113, Major-General A. Cunningham is quoted, but the editor (Mr. J. Beames, Bengal Civil Service) adds "without in the "least committing myself to approval of the General's opinions (which appear to me "to be in many cases ill founded)." The quotation is, that, "The Takkas are "denominated by the above-named writer [Gen. C.] 'early Turanians,' and he ascribes "to them a connection with 'the famous city of Takkasila or Taxila.' They were "formerly, he thinks, in possession of the Sindh Ságar Doáb, or the country between "the Indus and Jhelum rivers in the Panjáb, but must have been expelled thence by "the *Gakkars* (who are also said to be Turanians) during the reign of *Darius* "*Hystaspes* or thereabouts [this is *a little* earlier than the time of Maḥmúd of "Ghaznín, at which period the Gakhars themselves say they came]. The reason for "this supposition would seem to be that 'in the first century of our era, the district "'of Taxila was already called Amanda or Amandra, a name which at once recalls the "'Awáns of the present day [*see* my note on Kálá Bágh of the Awáns, page 370].' In "another place (page 8), the Awáns are said to have been in possession of Taxila at "the time of Alexander's invasion, and to have been expelled by the Indo-Scythians "two centuries later. These speculations, however, are confessedly rather uncertain, "and some confusion exists in this part of the report."

Elphinstone, in his "History of India," falls into the very same errors as others I have named about the "*Gakkars*," as he writes the word, because he quotes "Ferishta" from "Briggs."

I may now observe that the Gakhars are never mentioned in any of the available native historians up to the time of Bábar Bádsháh, who came into actual contact with them when he invaded the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah and marched to Khúsh-áb and Bharah, in 925 H. (1519 A.D.). He writes their name, like all foreigners would who do not realize the sound of the Sanskrit letter घ, represented by گھ—"*gh*" of the Muḥammadans,—ککر—Gakar, with two "*k*s," and, in the same way, foreigners seldom or never mark the difference between ک *k* and گ *g*. He describes them and their country as follows.

After first noticing that the tract of country in which were included the districts of Khúsh-áb, Bharah, Chán-áb, and Chínút (Chin-hat), had previously been under the sway of his ancestor, Tímúr Beg (Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán), he says, that, in 910 H. (1505-6 A.D.), when he made a raid on Kuhat (as he spells Koháț), that territory was

under the nominal sway of a grandson of the Mír, 'Alí Beg, known as Bábá, the Kábulí, who was an officer in the service of Sulṭán Mas'úd, Kábulí, a grandson of Sháh Rukh Mírzá, and who, during the convulsions which arose about that time, had appropriated that territory to himself. This is the same person with whom the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán came into contact, as mentioned elsewhere. The grandson of this 'Alí Beg was named Ápák Khán, otherwise known as Sayyid 'Alí Khán, son of Ghází Khán. This Sayyid 'Alí Khán read the *khutbah* at that time for Sulṭán Sikandar, Lodí, who had succeeded his father, Sulṭán Bahlúl, but since that time (Bábar Bádsháh's raid on Kohát), he had been ousted; and the Afgháns had taken possession of it for themselves, and made it dependent on the Láhor province.*

The Bádsháh then mentions that a son of this same Sayyid 'Alí Khán, Mino-chihr Khán by name, had made his way out of Hindústán, in a forlorn state, a short time previous to his own movement towards Khúsh-áb and Bharah, on his way to join him by the upper route (across the Indus), and had been fallen in with by Tatár Khán, the Gakar; that he wished to detain him there, and, in order to induce him to stay, made him his son-in-law, by giving him a daughter in marriage, but that now, hearing of his, the Bádsháh's, arrival in those parts, Mino-chihr Beg (as it is written in some MSS. of Bábar's work), left him, and had now come and presented himself.

The Bádsháh then says:—"Seven kuroh north from Bharah there lies a range of "mountains, which, in the Ẕafar Námah (the history of Tímúr), and other books, is "called the Koh-i-Júd. The reason thereof was not known at first (to him), but, at "length, it was cleared up. It appears that, in this range, two *khels* (septs or clans) "of people, the descendants of one father (progenitor), have long been dwelling,—one "named Júd, and the other Janjhúhah.† In half of this range are the Júd, and in "the other the Janjhúhah; and, from ancient times, these (two khels) have been "Ḥákims (governors) and Farmán-rawás (rulers) over the *íls* and *ulúses* which are "located between Bharah and Níl-áb, but, after a friendly and brotherly manner, not "able to do what they like and demand what they choose, but, according to customs "fixed in former times, for the one to receive and the other to give. These consist of "one *sháh-rukhí* (2½ rúpís) yearly for every head of cattle (or animal), and seven "*sháh-rukhís* in cases of marriages; and they accompany the fighting men (of those "whom they govern) in the field. The Júds are subdivided into several sections or "divisions, as are likewise the Janjhúhahs."

"This range of mountains, seven kuroh distant from Bharah, is an offshoot jutting "out from the mountain range of Kash-mír, which is the Koh (or range) of Hindú "Kush. It runs in the direction of south-west, and below Dín-Koṭ (*i.e.*, Dhan-"Koṭ) terminates at (the bank of) the Sind river.‡ In half of this range (first men-"tioned) dwell the Júd, and in the other the Janjhúhah; and the range itself is "named after the Júd (*i.e.*, Koh-i-Júd). A *kalán-tar* (chief man) of respectability "and probity among them receives the title of Rá'e [the same purely Hindú title is "used by the Khokhars, and was also taken by the Gakhaṛs]; and the younger "brothers and sons (of the Rá'e) they style Malik."

"These Janjhúhah are subject to Sangar Khán; and the Ḥákim (ruler) of the *íls* "and *ulúses* (tribes and clans) on and near the Sú-hán river was Malik Hast."

Again he says:—"In the mountain tract between Níl-áb and Bharah, but quite "distinct from the Júd and Janjhúhah people, and adjoining the mountain range "of Kash-mír (the Pír-Pinjál or Koh-i-Ḳárlúgh is referred to), there are Jaṭs and "Gajúrs (Gújars); and of these there are many septs of people, who, on every hill, "and in every *dara'h*, have founded villages, and therein have taken up their abode. "The Ḥákim (ruler) of these is of the *ḳabílah* (family or tribe) of the Gakars; and "the authority of these is the same as that of the chiefs of the Júd and Janjhúhah "(over their people)."

"At the period in question, the rule over these people (Jaṭs and Gújars), dwelling at the "skirt of the mountain range of Kash-mír, was in the hands of the sons [of the sons?] "of one father (*sic* in MSS.), namely, Tatár, the Gakar, and Ḥátí, the Gakar, who were "cousins german (*sic* in MSS.).§ Their strongholds are situated among the ravines "and clefts and gorges (of this mountain tract), and the name of Tatár's place is "Par-álah, at a considerable distance below (that is, south of) the Koh-i-Ḳárlúgh (or

* *See* note †, page 347, and page 350.

† These people had been settled there centuries before, for the Koh-i-Júd is mentioned by the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, and Khokhars and others as dwelling therein, in his time, but there is no mention whatever of Gakhaṛs. *See* pages 481 and 678.

‡ Thus confirming, if such confirmation were necessary, the statements of other historians, that Dhan-Koṭ lay on the eastern bank of the Indus. *See* page 348.

§ The tree of Gakhaṛ descent given in Griffin's book does not agree with this.

"Snowy Mountains), while that of Hátí adjoins them. Kálinjar,* which appertained "to Bábú Khán, Bisút (a Mughal tribe), Hátí had succeeded in gaining possession of. "Tatár, on the other hand, had presented himself and done homage to Daulat Khán, "the Lodí (then ruler of that part of the Panj-áb subject to Dihlí); and, after "a manner, he pays allegiance to him, and acknowledges subjection to him. Hátí "had not done so, and was seditious and contumacious; and Tatár, on the requisition "of some of the Amírs of Hindústán (subjects of the Afghán Sulṭán of Dihlí), had "come along with them, and, in a manner, had invested Hátí (in his stronghold).

"At the identical time that I was in Bharah, by some stratagem, and when Tatár "was off his guard, Hátí came upon him, and slew him, took possession of his territory, "his *ḥaram*, and whatsoever he possessed."

Bábar Bádsháh subsequently mentions that the Janjhúhah and Júd chiefs were attached by him to serve under Hindú Beg, whom he had nominated to the charge of Khúsh-áb and Bharah, and that they were named, respectively, Sangar Khán and Malik Hast (whose father, Hátí, the Gakhaṛ, had killed). When on his way back towards Kábul, by way of Kaldah Kahár, "the Janjhúhah, who are the ancient enemies "of the Gakars, and others dwelling around them, represented that Hátí, the Gakar, "whose stronghold lay in the direction of the Bádsháh's route, was hostile, and was "infesting the roads, devastating the country, and plundering the people; and that it "was necessary to punish him adequately." The Bádsháh, consequently, despatched a portion of his small force in advance, and followed with the remainder (of those then accompanying him; for a portion remained behind at Kaldah Kahár, and will be again referred to) towards Par-álah, situated among the defiles of this part, which Hátí, Gakar, who had lately assassinated Tatár, Gakar, and seized upon his country, had now occupied.

Although the route was exceedingly narrow and difficult, and the place very strong and not easily approached, it was attacked and captured; and Hátí alone, flying by the north-west gate, escaped. Subsequently, at Andaránah, Pratáp (a good Hindú name), a kinsman of Hátí, presented himself. He had, some time before, after Hátí had killed Tatár (his cousin), and appropriated Par-álah, been despatched by him to the Bádsháh's presence with *pesh-kash* (tributary offerings to a sovereign prince from an inferior, tendering submission and allegiance). He had been detained behind with that portion of the Bádsháh's forces which had separated from him, and remained for the time at Kaldah Kahár, and had only now reached the Bádsháh's camp. He received Pratáp after he had crossed the Sú-hán river, and, having dismissed him, endeavoured to conciliate and assure Hátí through him. He sent a person of his own with him to Hátí; and, by the time the Bádsháh reached the banks of the Sind, Pratáp returned bearing other offerings, and he was subsequently dismissed with presents for Hátí, who had thus tendered his submission.

Such is Bábar Bádsháh's notice of, and transactions with, the "powerful dynasty" descended from "the" so-called "conqueror of Badakshan and part of Thibet," who ruled for "seven generations therein," "conquered Kashmir," and for "thirteen "generations held Kashmir." *See* Griffin's work, page 574.

Humáyún Bádsháh, Bábar's son, had further transactions with the Gakhaṛs, but, at that period, Hátí had disappeared from the scene.

But what says Abú-l-Faẓl respecting them? He was well disposed towards the Gakhaṛ tribe, because the Afghán Sulṭáns had coerced them, and because the then Gakhaṛ chief, thinking the time was now come that the Mughals could protect him from the Afgháns, took the strongest side, and tendered submission to Humáyún Bádsháh. Referring to them in the Akbar Námah, under the reign of Humáyún Bádsháh, he styles "Sulṭán Sárang, Gakhaṛ, and Sulṭán Adam, Gakhaṛ," among the "respectable and trustworthy *Zamín-dárs*" of the upper parts of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and mentions Hátiá-púr, as one of the *maḥálls* named after them. This place, from its name, doubtless, refers to Hátí, the Gakhaṛ, of Bábar Bádsháh's time. In another place Abú-l-Faẓl mentions "Sulṭán Adam, the Gakhaṛ, as the *sar* and "*sardár* (head and chief) of that *guroh* (people, or tribe)." In another place, referring to the affair of Kamál Khán, Gakhaṛ (related at page 353, note †), he gives their history as follows, and this account, in all probability, he had from Kamál, Gakhaṛ, himself.

"Let it not be concealed that the Gakhaṛs are a numerous *ṭawá-if* (people), and "dwell between the river Bihat (Jhilam) and the Sind (Indus). In the time of the

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* *See* page 274, note **.

"Sultán, Zain-ul-'Ábidain, of Kash-mír,* a person named *Malik Kad*, one among the "*umará* (chiefs, leaders, commanders, governors, etc.) of Ghaznín (the province "of Ghaznín as then constituted), who was related to the (then) Hákim (governor, "ruler, etc.) of Kábul, having come, dispossessed the Kash-mírís of this place or part "(the tract lying between the Bihat and Sind, before referred to, not all Kash-mír) "by force. After him (Malik Kad), his son, Malik *Kalán*, sat in his father's place; "and, after him again, his son, *Bír*, by name, obtained the authority over this *ulús* "(tribe or clan). After him, Tatár became the Nizám (administrator or governor) of "his own *ḳabílah* (family or clan); and it was he who opposed Sher Khán and "Salím Khán, considering himself connected and associated with this dynasty (*see* "note †, page 353, how, according to Abú-l-Fazl himself, they showed their attach- "ment and loyalty), and accompanied Bábar Bádsháh (with a contingent) to "Hindústán, and was engaged in the affair with the Ráná, Sanká, of Chítúr.† He "had two sons, Sulṭán Sárang, and Sulṭán Adam; and, after Sárang (had fallen "into the hands of Salím Sháh, *see* note above referred to), the chieftain-ship passed "to Adam." Kamál and Sa'íd, mentioned previously at page 353, were Sárang's sons.

It is, therefore, from Abú-l-Fazl's simple account that the Gakhars have concocted the fables which Griffin relates in his book (page 574), and justly condemns them as such; and the seizure, in troublous times, of the small, but difficult, mountain tract now held by them, from the Kash-mírís, is what has been turned into "*Sultan Kab*, "the eighth in descent from Kaid, *conquered Kashmir* from *Manowar Khan*, whose "daughter he married to his son Farukh. For *thirteen generations* the Ghakkars "held Kashmir, Farukh, Amir, Mir Dad, Khair-ud-din, Goharganj, Nur-ud-din, "Murad, Bakhtyar, Alam, Sammad, Mehrab, and Rustam, *ruling in succession*. In "this last reign the Kashmiris revolted, and put Rustam to death, while his son, "Kabil, fled to the court of Nasir-ud-din Sabaktugin, who was then ruling in Kabul, "987 A.D."

The composers of these fables forgot, apparently, that Kash-mír possessed a history of its own, and that, at the time of the Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, *and for more than four centuries after his time*, all the rulers of Kash-mír were Hindús, and professed the Hindú faith. Yet, it will be noticed, that here we have a purely 'Arabic or Musalmán name, with a Turkish title, namely, "Manowar Khan," thirteen generations, or some *three hundred and ninety years* before "987 A.D.," or just a quarter of a century *before the* Muḥammad era, and actually *before the dawn of Islám itself!*

Kash-mír never had a ruler named "Manowar Khan," nor any rulers bearing such names as are mentioned above. What a pity it is that real Indian history is not better known, for, if it had been, the refutation of such nonsense as the Gakhars appear to have furnished would have been easy enough. The tree of descent given in Griffin's book at the head of the article is, likewise, quite different from the other statements in the article following it. [redacted]!

Now let us turn to the Khokhars, Griffin, in his work, page 589, in the article on the Khokhar Rájah's of Pind-i-Dádan Khán, says, that "*nothing is known of the* "*Kokhars previous to* 1623 (A.D.), *in Jahangir's reign*." In this he is quite in error. Let us refer to the Revenue Survey of the Mughal empire of Akbar Bádsháh, *father* of Jahán-gír Bádsháh. In the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, with all the details before him, Abú-l-Fazl shows, that, in the Láhor *Sarkár* of the Ṣúbah of Láhor, or the Panj-áb, as it is also styled, there were, in his time, paying revenue to the government, out of 52 *maḥálls* (districts) contained in the Bárí Do-ábah, five *maḥálls* peopled by Khokhars, who are rated as being able to furnish 345 horsemen, and 4,600 footmen, for militia purposes. In the Chin-haṭ Do-ábah, consisting of 21 *parganahs*, there were seven *parganahs* inhabited by Khokhars, rated at 1,360 horsemen, and 10,000 footmen; and in the Bíst-Jálandhar Do-ábah, one *maḥáll* out of 60, rated at 60 horse and 4,000 foot. In the Rich-náb Do-ábah, out of 57 *maḥálls*, one was peopled by Khokhars, who could

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* Sultán Zain-ul-'Ábidain ruled over Kash-mír and its dependencies for a period of fifty-two years, and died in 878 H. (1473–74 A.D.).

† Tatár had been previously killed by his cousin, Hátí, whom Bábar tried to conciliate. Abú-l-Fazl has confused the two.

furnish 560 horsemen, and 4,000 foot, for militia duties. There was not a single Gakhar, at that time, dwelling in those districts.

In the Díbál-púr *Sarkár* of the Şúbah of Multán there were likewise numbers of Khokhars. In the Bíst-Jálandhar Do-ábah of that *Sarkár*, containing but 10 *mahálls*, there were three inhabited by them, who could furnish 750 horsemen, and 10,000 foot. There were a few other people, of different clans, dwelling along with them. In the tract styled Berún-i-Panj-Nad, containing 6 *mahálls*, they inhabited the *maháll* of Muhammadot, and were rated at 100 horsemen, and 3,600 foot. Here likewise, a few others dwelt along with them.

The sum total of this assessment amounts to 3,175 horsemen, and 37,600 foot, which, at the average rate of one fighting man to a family, and the average of a family at five persons, represents a population of 203,875 people "of whom," we are told, "nothing was known" until the following reign.

We must now compare the statistics of the Gakhar tribe at the same period. As before stated, they dwelt in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah of the Láhor Sarkár only, which consisted of 42 *mahálls*. They were located in seven of them; some others also dwelt along with them; and they were rated as able to furnish 3,300 horsemen, and 28,500 footmen, which is 125 horsemen *more* and 9,000 footmen *less* than the Khokhars could furnish, notwithstanding that the strength and power of the latter had been declining for more than a century and a half previously.

To conclude this subject as briefly as possible, I may mention that the people with whom Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín came into contact were Khokhars, not Gakhars; those who rebelled in the time of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrí, when Malik Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, joined him from Láhor, and on which occasion the latter's slave, I-yal-timish, afterwards Sultán of Dihlí, greatly distinguished himself by riding into the river Jhilam after them (*see* Tabakát-i-Násirí," my Translation, pages 481 and 604, and Elliot's version, page 322, Vol. II.), were likewise Khokhars or Kokars, not Gakhars, and their chief was Rá'e Sál. They had also aided the last of the house of Ghaznín against Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín on a previous occasion (*see* my "Tabakát-i-Násirí" note 4, page 453), and, subsequently, according to some accounts, *but not all*, they assassinated him at Dam-yak (*ibid.*, page 486).

The people who aided Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, against Sultán Násir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah, ruler of Multán and Sindh, and whose chief, Rá'e Sanká, gave Jalál-ud-Dín a daughter in marriage, were Khokhars, not Gakhars (*ibid.*, pp. 294 and 537); and it was this people who, styled "Hindú Khokhar and Gabr wretches," in the work above quoted (*see* page 1106, and note to page 656), took possession of Láhor after the Mughals sacked it in 639 H. (1241–42 A. D.). It was the Khokhars against whom the Ulúgh Khán-i-A'zam, afterwards Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, was sent in 644 H. (1246–47 A.D.), from the banks of the Súdhará, into the Júd Hills and Jhilam (*ibid.*, page 678. *See also* Elliot, Vol. II., page 347).

The severe punishment inflicted on the Khokhar tribe upon the occasions above referred to, had tended to break their strength for a time, but, in the reign of Sultán Muhammad, Tughlak Sháh, they again began to be troublesome. At length, in the year 743 H. (1342–43 A.D.), following the example of others in Tughlak Sháh's dominions, under Chandar, their then chief, the Khokhars revolted against the Sultán's authority. The outbreak began to assume such threatening proportions, that Malik Tatár Khán, the Governor of the Panj-áb, had to move against them. He subsequently succeeded in suppressing the outbreak for the time, but they were the cause of great disorders in the Láhor province during the reigns of the last Tughlak kings of Dihlí, and in the reign of Sultán Mubárak Sháh of the Sayyid dynasty. The notorious Shaikhá and Jasrath were Khokhars, not Gakhars. Shaikhá is said to have been the general name by which the chiefs of the tribe styled themselves, because, as the historian says, "being Hindús by descent, they had "become converts to Islám;* hence Jasrath is often styled Jasrath Shaikhá." In every history in which they are named the word is written Khokhar, Kokar, or Kukár, as already noticed. In 796 H. (1393–94 A.D.), Shaikhá, the father, gained possession of Láhor. The Khokhars defeated the royal troops upon several occasions, and were also sometimes defeated themselves and dispersed to their fastnesses in the hills, but the distraction which prevailed in all the provinces of the Dihlí empire at that period enabled them again to recover themselves.

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* Hindú proselytes to Muhammadanism were always styled "Shaikh."

When the Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, in 801 H. (1398–99 A.D.) crossed the Indus to invade Hindústán, Shaikhá, the Kokar, as the word is written in the Ẕafar-Námah, had reduced the provinces of Láhor and Díbál-púr under his sway; and, when Tímúr marched from Tulambah (in the Multán district) eastwards towards the Biáh, he encountered Nuṣrat, the Kokar, brother of Shaikhá, who retired, with 2,000 of his followers, into a stronghold situated on a great *kol* or lake, north of Multán, but he was attacked and overthrown, and he disappeared.

Shaikhá, his brother, subsequently, presented himself to Tímúr, who treated him with honour, and allowed him to retain possession of Láhor and its dependencies; and the Khokhar chief acted as his guide, and accompanied him everywhere during his incursion into Hindústán, as far as the Do-ábah between the rivers Jún (Jamna) and Gang (Ganges). From thence, at his own request, in order to regulate the affairs of his possessions, Shaikhá was permitted to return to Láhor, promising that on the Amír reaching the Biáh, or river of Láhor, as it is also called, on his return, he would present himself again. "In Hindústán," says the author of the Ẕafar-Námah, "wherever "Hindús had pleaded connection with the Kokars, or of being their clients or de-"pendents, their lives and property were always spared."

Amír Tímúr set out on his return to the Panj-áb along the skirts of the Siwálikh mountains (the outer Himálayas, bounding the Panj-áb and Hindústán on the north and north-west), sending bodies of his troops into the different Dara'hs, devastating the country and slaying the infidels.

Shaikhá, however, for some reason or other, had neglected to present himself, as he promised; and, moreover, several officers of rank, on their way from Máwará-un-Nahr to join Tímúr in Hindústán, who had passed through Láhor, he also neglected to pay any attention to, or even to notice. Tímúr's wrath was roused; and he determined to punish him for his ingratitude. At first, a relative of Shaikhá was encountered; and he was attacked, and some 2,000 of his followers, who are styled "Gabrs" by the author (but he did not intend them to be taken for "fire worshippers," merely meaning infidels), were put to the sword. A force was then despatched against Láhor, with directions to take possession of it, seize Shaikhá, the Kokar, and bring him in. This was done; and he and his family were captured. What became of him does not appear; but some say he died a natural death, while others state that Shaikhá was put to death by Tímúr's command, and that Jasrath was imprisoned at Samr-ḳand, and, some years subsequently, was set at liberty, and returned home again, but there is no mention that the father was carried away captive, and it is very improbable that he was spared; but he is not again mentioned in the Ẕafar-Námah.

Jasrath, his son, having put his brother, Shátí by name, to death, seized upon Jálandhar and Kalánúr, and began to aspire to the sovereignty of Hindústán. He endeavoured to gain possession of Sahrind, but that strong place was defended by Sulṭán Sháh, Lodí, and Jasrath was unable to take it. In Rajab, the seventh month, 824 H. (1421 A.D.), Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh moved from Dihlí against him; and as the Sulṭán advanced Jasrath retired, until he reached the Sutlaj, crossed to the west bank, and secured all the boats. For forty days the opposing forces remained facing each other; and, at last, Mubárak Sháh marched along the banks to Kábul-púr, Jasrath and his forces marching parallel to him. In Shawwál, the tenth month, Mubárak Sháh succeeded in crossing; and Jasrath was defeated, and compelled to retire upon Jálandhar with considerable loss of men and baggage. Mubárak Sháh pursued him, upon which Jasrath crossed the Chin-áb, and retired into the hills. The Hindú Rájah of Jammún, Rá'e Bhalím, presented himself to the Sulṭán, and guided him to Thankir, the greatest of the Khokhar strongholds. This was occupied, and devastated, and Jasrath's followers dispersed among the hills; but numbers of them were taken prisoners.

In the first month of 825 H. (1422 A.D.), having quelled this rebellion, as he imagined, Mubárak Sháh marched to Láhor, which had been reduced to a state of utter desolation—a complete wilderness, it is said. He remained there some time to allow of its being put into a state of defence again, gave orders for its restoration, and returned to Dihlí, leaving at Láhor a garrison of 2,000 cavalry.

The acquirement of such power as Jasrath, the Khokhar, had now attained was owing to the disorder which had reigned in the Dihlí kingdom for many years past, and in the countries north and west. Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh of Kash-mír, son of Sikandar-i-But-Shikan, or "The Idol Breaker," who succeeded the latter in 820 H. (1417 A.D.), subsequently set out on a pilgrimage, delegating his authority to his brother, Zain-ul-'Abidain. When Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh returned, he wished to resume it, but his brother refused to resign the sovereignty. 'Alí Sháh determined to recover it; and he sought

the aid of the Rájah of Jammún, whose daughter he had married. With his help, Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh succeeded in dispossessing Zain-ul-'Ábidain, but his success was merely temporary, for Zain-ul-'Ábidain sought the aid of Jasrath, the Khokhar, whose brother, it is stated, Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh, had previously slain. Indeed, some writers affirm that Jasrath had, previous to this, waylaid Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh on his return from his pilgrimage, had defeated the Sulṭán and his followers, and plundered him of all he possessed.

Zain-ul-'Ábidain, and his Khokhar ally, marched from Síál-Koṭ against Sulṭán 'Alí Sháh, encountered him in battle, overthrew him, and made him captive. Zain-ul-'Ábidain imprisoned his brother in the Pakhla'í district, a part of the Kash-mír dominions at that period; and, in confinement, he died in 826 H. (1423 A.D.), but some say in the following year.

It must not be forgotten that it was at this period of disturbance, in the beginning of the reign of Zain-ul-'Ábidain, who ruled for fifty-two years, that the Gakhaṛs, according to Abú-l-Fazl, obtained the difficult tract of country lying immediately below the Snowy Mountains referred to by Bábar Bádsháh.

It was with Sulṭán Zain-ul-'Ábidain's aid and connivance, for the efficient aid rendered to him by Jasrath, that the latter was able to carry on war against the Sulṭáns of Dihlí, whose kingdom was rent by internal disorder: consequently, after the departure of Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh, Jasrath's rebellion still continued, and went on during the whole thirteen years of that Sulṭán's stormy reign, who died in 837 H. (1423 A.D.); and once he penetrated as far east as Sámánah. Muḥammad Sháh, the nephew and adopted son of Mubárak Sháh, succeeded; and the Khokhars were still unsubdued. In 845 H. (1441–42 A.D.), when the Langáh Jaṭs broke out at Multán, the affairs of the Dihlí empire became still more distracted, and there was a general scramble for power. In that year, the Sulṭán made Malik Bahlúl, the Lodí, governor of Láhor and Díbál-púr, and directed him to reduce Jasrath, the Khokhar. The latter now entered into an understanding with Malik Bahlúl, and flattered him with hopes of occupying the Dihlí throne; and now, it is said, that hope first entered the breast of Bahlúl, who began to summon his Afghán tribesmen to join him, which they did in great numbers.

From this time we hear no more of Jasrath's rebellion, and he disappears from the arena, and the power of the Khokhars rapidly declined. Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh died in 847 H. (1443–44 A.D.); Sulṭán 'Álá-ud-Dín, his son, a very weak prince, succeeded him; but, in 852 H. (1448–49 A.D.), he abandoned Dihlí, and retired to Budá'ún. In 855 H. (1451 A.D.), Malik Bahlúl was invited to come and take possession of Dihlí; and 'Álá-ud-Dín resigned the sovereignty to him, contenting himself with Budá'ún.

Such is a brief outline of the history of the two best known Khokhar chiefs, who, and whose tribe, have hitherto been mistaken, except by the native writers, for Gakhaṛs.

The reason why persons unacquainted with the existence of the two distinct tribes, and their history, have fallen into these terrible errors, like Dow and Briggs, is, that, in the Persian language, in which ninety and nine histories of India are written, it is not usual to make any distinction between the letters ک "*k*" and گ "*g*:" consequently, these two translators, having probably heard of Gakhaṛs from their being better known in modern times, immediately jumped to the conclusion that the word they found in the original of their author, Firishtah, must be "*Gickers*" and "*Ghukkurs*," whereas, in the original, the word is written کهوکهر and sometimes کهکهر. Those Muḥammadan writers, on the other hand, who were of foreign descent, or had come from the west and taken up their residence in Hind, pass over the Persian equivalent of the Sanskrit letters "*kh*" and "*gh*," and write the word Kokar,—کوکر and sometimes Kokár,—کوکار as in the Táríkh-i-Alfí, and other histories, but those, who knew the sound of the Sanskrit letter, always write کهوکهر or کهکهر. Abú-l-Fazl invariably writes it according to the first mode, as well as many other writers, while some, again, write it according to the latter form. The word Gakhaṛ, on the contrary, by such writers as Abú-l-Fazl, is invariably written گکهر and گکهڑ, marking the "*g*" and "*ṛ*," so that there can be no mistake, while some, foreigners chiefly, write it ککهر and ککر: hence Gakhaṛs might be mistaken for Khokhars, but not the latter for Gakhaṛs.

In nearly every volume of Elliot's "Historians of India," the words Khokhar, Khokar, Kokar, and Kukár, appear as they are written in the various original histories from which his extracts were taken, but, in many places, he, or his editor for him, has

put " *Gakkhurs* " in brackets, and, sometimes, " *Gakars*," thus altering the originals which had been correctly translated, as at pages 232, 233, 235, 294, 297, 322, 347, of Vol. II.; while, in the Appendix, page 447, Briggs' translation is used. In one place occurs the foolish note referred to at page 361 of these "Notes," while in the same events, related in extracts taken from other native writers, in that very same volume, the words are allowed to stand without turning them into "Gakkhurs," as at pages 396, 553, and 563, thus showing the state of uncertainty the translator was in. See, for example, Vol. III., at pages 415, 485, 516, and 520, and in Vol. IV., pages 35, 54, and 55, where the originals are not altered, but, in Vol. VI., pages 219 and 568, they are again made "Gukkurs" and "Gakkhars" of. In Vol. V., page 11, the Gakhaṛs are turned into Kákaṛ Afgháns, but, at pages 163 to 166, we have "Kokars" again.

I hope, before long, if time permits, to make use of the materials which, for the greater part of my life, I have been collecting for a history of Muḥammadan India, when I shall be able to enter more fully into the subject of Khokhars and Gakhaṛs; but, in the meantime, I am quite prepared to show, from the Muḥammadan authors, in the original, that in nearly, if not in every instance, from the earliest times up to the invasion of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah in 925 H. (1519 A.D.), by Bábar Bádsháh, the Gakhaṛs have been mistaken for the once very powerful tribe of Khokhar, by every English translator or writer, save Sir H. Elliot, who, after rendering the word correctly, with rare inconsistency, altered it incorrectly.

Inquire of a Khokhar whether he accounts himself a Gakhaṛ:—a good test of the correctness of what I have herein stated.

To return to the details of the route, after this long, but necessary digression.*

"Leaving Ṭíṭa'í, or Ṭíṭa'í Mena'h, you proceed six kuroh in the direction of north-east, to Trag, a village peopled by the Awán-Kár Jaṭs; and from Trag another kuroh and a half farther in the same direction brings you to Mihr Sháh.† You then go another two kuroh in the same direction to Músíání;‡ then two kuroh farther, still in the same direction as before, to Mando Khel, and, midway on the road thither, you cross a little river, which comes from the left hand, runs to the right, and unites with the Sind. From Mando Khel you proceed one kuroh and a half to Khaddúzí,§ situated on the banks of the Sind; then you go one kuroh and a half in the direction of north, to Chicháli;‖ two kuroh farther in the same direction to Koṭ;¶ and another two kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to Kálá-Bágh, formerly called Ḳará-Bágh.

"This is a considerable town situated on the west bank** of the Sind, and is under the rule of Surkh-rú Khán, Afghán, of the Bangí Khel branch of the Khaṭaks. The

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* *See* page 343.

† "Mehur Shahwalee" of the maps. In former times, about the period that the Níází tribe first settled in these parts, the bed of the river of Kurma'h was very much higher than now, and cutting for itself a deeper channel through the Tangaey or Tang Dara'h. When in flood, the waters are said to have spread, at times, as far north as this place, laying the country under water, the channel of the before-mentioned river, likewise, not being sufficiently large to carry off the overflow, while the waters of the Indus, meeting those of the Kurmah river, also tended to force them back. Since the Ko-e Wála'h has existed, these floods have greatly lessened, or altogether ceased, except under exceptional circumstances.

Wála'h, as already noticed, means a canal cut from a river, but, in the vitiated Pus'hto of these parts, it is turned into *Wí'ál*.

‡ Músíání, now corrupted into Músháni, is the name of a section of the Níází tribe; and this village, or rather, cluster of villages, is also known as Kamar Músháni, but, in the Indian Atlas map, it appears as "Kummare" only. Mando Khel is the name of another offshoot of the Níází tribe: "Manda" Khel is incorrect.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, referred to at page 36, and in other places in this work, when returning from Kábul by way of Pes'háwar, Koháṭ, Makhaḍ, and Kálá-Bágh, mentioned farther on (at page 379, note ‡), proceeded down the Indus from Kálá-Bágh, by land, for the 'Ísá Khel village. He says: "On the way there "was a village of the Músháni Afgháns, who are highway robbers. It is called Deh-i-Ḳanbar (the Kamar or "Kambar of others). The country round is densely covered with tamarisk *jangals*; and travellers and "*ḳáfilahs*, having to pass through these *jangals*, are waylaid and plundered by the Múshánis, who attacked me "and my party likewise, and carried off great part of our property. I was wounded in defending my own; and "ten persons, among my servants and companions, and two camels, were also wounded. I was obliged to halt "for fourteen days at the 'Ísá Khel village, which is eighteen *kos* below Kálá-Bágh, to get cured of my wounds. "The 'Ísá Khel are most kind, friendly, and worthy people. We then proceeded to Khassúr, from which place "the village known as Bilúts-i-Sádát (Bilúts of the Sayyids) is distant four *kos*; and then continued our "journey towards the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán."

§ This is turned into "Bhodazaie" in the map referred to.

‖ Chicháli is the name of a long and difficult pass, the bed of a water-course, leading into Tsautara'h from 'Ísá Khel, and to Koháṭ by the Kúna'h-i-Gáo Pass, noticed farther on. *See* Bábar's raid mentioned at page 360.

¶ Koṭ is the "Kot Chundana" of the map.

** This place was formerly known as Ḳará-Bágh, and betokens Turkish occupation. I have already mentioned, that, from the time of the downfall of the Khwárazmí Turks in the time of the Chingiz Khán, down

most valuable commodities of the Kohistán are brought here for sale, and the commodities of Kábul and Hind are also disposed of.

"West of the town is a range of lofty hills, in which rock salt of a red colour is produced, and also a reddish earth from which they extract native alum, like unto sugar-candy in appearance, which is called *zágh-i-safed* in Persian, and *phatkirí* in Hindí; and in the manufacture thereof the inhabitants are occupied. These products are taken away by traders into all parts for sale.

"On the way from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Rang-púr, the mountain tracts on the left hand show themselves at some distance off, and the Sind river, likewise, flows at a considerable distance on the right hand. From Káṭhh-gar to Bilúts, the mountains on the left hand rise near by; and the Sind flows on the right, at about seven or eight kuroh distance. In the same manner, as far as Jindá or Jinda'h* the river is similarly distant, and the mountains on the left lie away from the road, while from Ṭíṭa'í to Mando Khel, on the contrary, the mountains rise near, and the river flows at a distance on the right. From Khaddúzí to Kálá-Bágh you proceed along by the river bank.

"From Kálá-Bágh two roads branch off. The right-hand one leads to Makhaḍ across the Sind: the left-hand one, now to be described, leads to Kábul. From Kálá-Bágh you proceed four kuroh in the direction of north, and reach the Berán Wání,† which is a small river, running from west to east, and falling into the Sind. This river, from it proximity to the salt hills, is also salt; and a hill containing a mine of salt lies near by on the left-hand side of the road. Here also they obtain the red earth from which alum is extracted.

"At this point the territory of the Bangí Khel Khaṭaks terminates in this direction, and it may be well therefore to briefly notice them and their country."

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to within a short period of the accession of the Lodí dynasty, great part of the western Panj-áb was held by Turks, as Bábar Bádsháh likewise mentions. The Hindí translation of Ḳará, the Turkish for black, etc., is Kálá—Kálá-Bágh. As the Turks became weak, through the breaking up of the empire of the direct descendants of Tímúr, consequent on the inroads of the Úzbak portion of the Turkish race, and just before the acquisition of Kábul by Bábar Bádsháh, the Afghán tribes and Hindkís began to wax strong; and they, especially the former, began to appropriate large tracts of country towards the Indus. When the Níází Afgháns had been nearly annihilated, as related in the notice of that tribe, the Hindkís around began to raise their heads, and to follow the example of the Afgháns.

According to Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, Kálá-Bágh has not been in existence three hundred years; and he states that it was founded subsequent to the destruction of Dhan-Koṭ, which was swept away by an inundation of the Indus. It is strange that, in saying this, he did not discover that he completely contradicted a former statement, and that he did not correct his previous blunder. It will be remembered that Dhan-Koṭ is the place whither the Níázís fled after their defeat at Anbálah, and it was at Dhan-Koṭ that the Khwájah, Wais, the Sarwání, Islám Sháh's commander, sent in pursuit, was defeated by them. Now, as Dhan-Koṭ was swept away *subsequent* to that time (956 H.=1549 A.D.), it is very evident that what Hai'át Khán now calls "Dhan-Koṭ, a mile and a half N.E. of Kálá-Bágh" (the "*Dungote Sir*" of the maps, and "*Dingot*" of MacGregor), which he says is "the identical place in which the Níázís took shelter," cannot possibly be the identical place, because he himself states that it *was subsequently swept away by the Indus*. He, however, did not perceive his mistake, neither did it occur to him that Dhan-Koṭ and "Dín-goṭah" were two totally different places.

After Dhan-Koṭ of the Níázís had been swept away, one of the head men of the Awán tribe of Hindkís, who appear to have been vassals of the Níázís, took up his residence, and built for himself a dwelling, on the spot where Kálá-Bágh now stands, which site must, evidently, have previously borne the same name. By degrees, a town sprung up around, which, on account of its favourable position, and nearness to the salt mines, went on increasing.

* As previously noticed, this place is written Chinda'h or Chindá, in two copies of the original. *See* note **, page 342.

Let us see what changes have taken place since 1864, much less since these surveys were made. The Indus in that year flowed close under Bilúts, and was but five miles distant from Káṭhh-gar; and instead of being distant on the right hand (east), as in the time of these surveys, between Ṭíṭa'í and Mando Khel, it was as close to it as it was to Khaddúzí immediately above. The river now makes a bend towards the west, in the direction of the mountains, and separates into several channels just above Khaddúzí, one of which flows close to Mando Khel. The whole unite just to the north of the point of junction of the river of Kurma'h with the Indus, and, a few miles lower down, the Indus again separates into several channels. One channel, which appears to have been the main one at the time these surveys were made, lies about two miles west of Mián-walí, and is no less than eighteen miles east of the westernmost channel at the present time. If such be the changes in the space of less than a century, how can we expect to find on or near the banks of the Indus places mentioned as situated thereon eight centuries ago, or even two centuries since, much less over two thousand years ago, unless the river carried such places, uninjured, along with it in all its changes? During a period of six or seven years before 1864, the Indus again began to encroach eastwards, submerging many villages; and, during that period, it shifted its course just eight miles from west to east. This part of its course, where it issues from its narrow, rocky channel, into a flat country, is more liable to change.

Between Káṭhh-gar and Bilúts the river, which, when these surveys were made, was *seven* or *eight kuroh* distant from the road, is now within *one*.

† This river's bed is indicated in the map, but it is not mentioned by name. This is a branch of what Wood calls the "Lun rivulet." Salt, in Sanskrit, is *lon*, and it would be, correctly, the Lon or Salt rivulet.

The Bangí Khel Khaṭaks.

"The Bangí Khel section of the Khaṭak tribe is descended from Ságharaey, son of Bolák, one of the two sons of Luḳmán, *alias* Khaṭak. The other brother, and the eldest, was named Tormán; and from him the main branch of the Khaṭak tribe is descended. The other branches of the Ságharí Boláḳs are not so well known as the Bangí Khel, nor are they so numerous. Both branches of the Khaṭaks, the Tormán Tarís and the Ságharí Bangí Khel, used, in former times, to carry their depredations across the Sind into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah of the Panj-áb, as far east as Bharah and Khúsh-áb on the Jhilam, but, subsequently, they had to withdraw again to the banks of the Sind, where some of the Ságharís are still located about Níl-áb.*

"The Bangí Khel amount to about 6,000 or 7,000 families, and dwell in the mountain tracts to the west of the Sind river. Their territory, from north to south, is just thirty kuroh in length, and between ten and twelve kuroh in breadth, from west to east. The sardár or chief of this sub-tribe, Surkh-rú Khán by name, dwells at the town of Kálá-Bágh. He pays a sum of 5,000 rúpís yearly, as *'ushr* or a tenth, into the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul; and he has to furnish a contingent of 200 horsemen to the Bádsháh's army."

The Khaṭak historian, Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, in his work, calls this place Bágh of the Awáns, not because it was ever "granted to them rent free for ever by the Emperor "Súltán Mahmúd," as some have lately assured us, but because it was chiefly peopled by Awáns, who also held lands at this period in the Zerán Dara'h, as mentioned at page 81. Bágh had been held by the Khaṭaks in *jágír* or feudal tenure, for nearly a century before these surveys were made, and was still held by a Khaṭak, as previously stated above.

The Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, who subsequently succeeded to the throne of Dihlí, under the title of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, while acting as Ṣúbah-dár of the Kábul province immediately before his father's death, sustained many losses at the hands of the Afghán tribes of these parts.

Afẓal Khán gives graphic and interesting accounts of the events of this period, and of the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur's movements in these parts, at which time, however, he did *not* "settle Kábul," neither did he "reduce Banu, Khost, and Daur," as Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, tells us in his book; for they were never reduced by him. Kábul, in fact all the territories west of the Indus appertaining to the Dihlí empire, as well as other parts, were, at this time in a most unsettled state.

Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was induced by Bahrám, Khaṭak, Khush-hál Khán's degenerate son, in order to ingratiate himself if possible with the Mughals to the detriment of his nephew, Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, to proceed into Bannú, and to annex that territory, pretending that he would put the Prince in possession of it. He advised him to take the Bangas'h route; and by that way he took him into Dawar, and then into Bannú. This was in 1112 H. (1700–1701 A.D.). By the time the Prince entered the Bannú territory he had expended four *lákhs* of rúpís in bribing the Afgháns—getting them "to come in," as it was lately called—and, after all, he found things quite different from what Bahrám had represented to him.

Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, passed the winter in Bannú, and afterwards retired towards Kábul. It was on this occasion, on reaching the Ḥasan Tangaey, that he met with the opposition mentioned previously at page 90, note ‡. †

Afẓal Khán says—and he was an actor in, and eye-witness of, most of the events he relates—"soon after, on the Prince returning through the Khaibar to Akoṛah, I "[Afẓal] received instructions to hasten to Kohát, and join the imperial officers sent to "the relief of Iṣálat Khán, the Gakhar, who had been expelled by the Bunnútsís, and "had been obliged to take shelter in the fort of Tang.

"When the Prince passed through Dawar from Bannú, on his march to Kábul, "previously referred to, he left a *thánah* or post there, under the Sayyid, Ḥusain, "one of the Sayyids of Báṛhah, who were famed for their valour, but he, likewise, "was blockaded in the fort—the erection of which had been commenced on that

* The Bangí Khel now inhabit the tract of country extending from the Berán-Wání river to within a few miles of Makhaḍ on the opposite side of the Indus. *See* Route Eighty-seven. A short account of the descent of the Khaṭak tribe will be found farther on, at the end of the Eighty-first Route.

† *See also* note ‡, page 376, and MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. 1, page 406, for some strange historical information.

"occasion by Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, but which had not been quite completed—by "the Shítaks of Bannú, in combination with the Marwats, who had combined to "expel the Mughal commanders from the Bannú territory. After several encounters "had taken place, Sayyid Ḥusain and his troops had to capitulate; and the Afghán "Maliks of Bannú and Marwat, according to the terms, conducted him and his "force safely out of Dawaṛ and the Bannú district, as far as the defile of the "'Ísá Khel Níázís, on the Mu'azzam Nagar route." The Tangaey, or Tang Dara'h, where the river of Kurma'h pierces the Koh-i-Surkh, or Ráṭá Roh, to join the Indus, is here referred to.*

Nothing, therefore, could be effected with regard to Bannú, although the Prince had moved to Kohát to support his officers there; and he gave orders to abandon the attempt; dismissed Afẓal Khán to provide for keeping open the Resa'í route leading to Pes'háwar and Kábul, saying, that he, himself, would pass the summer of 1113 H. (1701–2 A.D.) in Zeṛán and Kaṛmán, which he did, as related in Section Second, note †, page 82.

He subsequently determined to make another effort to settle the Bannú territory. Having passed the summer as proposed, he despatched the chief part of his force, under 'Alí Riẓá, an incapable upstart, in advance, by way of Buland Khel, as previously related at page 84, note ‡, but, his troops having been defeated, he set out, in person, to endeavour to reach Bannú by the Dawaṛ route from Khost. The Wazírís occupied the road in his front; and it was only by means of Náṣir Khán [subsequently, Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul], who accompanied him, and was well acquainted with the country and people, that an arrangement was entered into with the Wazírís,† and he brought the Prince into Bannú.

Afẓal Khán says:—

"Without making any stay therein, the Prince moved by Laka'í of the Marwats into the 'Ísá Khel country; and, in 1114 H. (1702–3 A.D.‡), moved to Bágh of the Awáns [in order to get to Pes'háwar that way], but both routes were closed against him; and the forces accompanying him [the number not mentioned] were reduced to great straits, for every day the Bangí Khel, and other Ságharí Khaṭaks, and the Tsautara'h§ people, attacked and harassed them, and very few of the camels, horses, and other cattle belonging to the troops, were left to them: nearly the whole were carried off.

"I was repeatedly sent for [he was a feudatory of the Mughals], but did not wish to go, as I was not on good terms with the Bakáwal [Purveyor], Muḥammad Ḥusain, but I had a sincere regard for Náṣir Khán, and sent a message to him by one of my horsemen, intimating that, if he thought it advisable to send for me, I would come, but that I could not obey the summons of any one else. The different Amírs with the Prince asked him to summon me; and the Prince conferred with Náṣir Khán about it, who promised to produce me in five days. Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was surprised to find that Náṣir Khán could effect what others could not, and commanded him to write to me, which he did.

"I had gone from S'hádí-púr to Khair-ábád at the time, so I rode post haste to Láchí. Some of the Prince's families, who were at Kohát, and were unable to get out therefrom, I sent for from thence, and, escorting them by the Ságharí and Bangí Khel route, had them conducted to the Prince's camp at Bágh. I then marched from Láchí to Búṭ; and from thence to Fatḥ-púr of Tsautara'h, by the Kúnah-i-Gáo [defile and pass].‖ Baḥrám,¶ on this, fled from Tsautara'h, with the Khwaṛama'h people,

* *See also* note **, page 440.

† That is to say, they had to be bought over to allow the Prince to proceed.

‡ The year 1114 H. began on the 16th May, 1702, A.D.

§ Tsautara'h is the name of a small tract of the Khaṭak territory, surrounded by stony hills, chiefly peopled by the Bárak section of that tribe. It is nearly nineteen miles in length from west to east, and varies in breadth from about four miles to over eight. It contains a number of ravines. The Chichálaey pass, mentioned farther on, leads out of it into 'Ísá Khel. It is always incorrectly spelt in our maps and gazetteers, in local, and other, reports, and by those who cannot pronounce the Pus'hto letters, as "*Chaoutra*," which is quite unknown to its people. It was to the hills of Tsautara'h that the 'Ísá Khel retired when Bábar Bádsháh made a raid upon them, as related in the notice of the Níázís at page 360.

‖ Signifying, in Persian, but not in Pus'hto, the "Cow's Podex." This is the name of a long and narrow defile and pass, between low hills, on the road between Tsautara'h and Kohát, and is a little over ten miles in length altogether. The pass itself, or the podex, is a great cleft in the rocks about fifty feet in depth; and, in some places, it is so narrow that wheeled carriages could not pass, but it was, and still is, as here shown, quite practicable for horse and foot, and camels, and is capable of much improvement. In the possession of a determined enemy it would be very difficult to force.

¶ Bahrám here referred to is the uncle of the writer, and the degenerate son of Khush-ḥál Khán, the famous Khaṭak chief, who suffered so much, as well as the Khaṭak tribe, through the intrigues and misconduct of this

and entered the Lowá-Ghar, and most of the Tarís* came over to me. I left my followers at Fatḥ-púr; and, on the 9th of Ramaẓán [of same year], by way of Chichálaey [mentioned in this route], with 40 horsemen, I set out for the Sháh-Zádah Sháh-i-'Álam Bahádur's camp.

"When I reached the Chichálaey Dara'h, the Tsautara'h people were then actually bringing along by the very road I was proceeding herds of horses; and when I came up to them I took them from them and secured the animals. When we reached the entrance to the Chichálaey Ghás'haey,* I found that the Tsautara'h people had carried off from the Sháh-Zádah's camp a whole caravan of horses, mules, and other cattle, and the owners of them remained at the place where the cattle had been stolen from them. It was the time of afternoon prayer; and when the caravan people saw me they cried out that I would help them. I set out after the Tsautara'h people, and, when it was dark, I came up with them; and they, knowing we were Afgháns, though not how few men I had along with me, gave up the cattle upon my ordering them to do so, and saying who I was. They numbered about 300 men, and were armed with firearms. Having laden the property of the caravan people on the restored cattle, I set out, and reached Náṣir Khán's camp [his quarters in the Prince's camp] when one watch of the night had passed. Náṣir Khán came forth to receive me, embraced me, and kissed me on the beard. He then wrote, reporting my arrival to the Sháh-Zádah; and, next morning, according to his command, I waited on him, and was well received, but Muḥammad Ḥusain, the Baḳáwal, was much vexed thereat. That same day he had had a seizure, and his eyes, mouth, and hands, were all distorted. He tried to get me to come to him, but I would not; and, out of revenge, he sent for Bahrám, who had been reduced to straits; for the forces I had left in Tsautara'h had completely hemmed him in. He arrived, and presented himself before the Sháh-Zádah; and the latter sent for me, and directed me to make arrangements so that

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son in particular. More respecting him will be found farther on, and in the notice of Khush-ḥál Khán, prefixed to his poems in my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 142.

* The river, known as the Chichálaey, gives name to this long defile and ghás'haey or pass, which leads from the 'Ísá Khel country into Tsautara'h, and from thence to Kohát̤ by the Kúnah-i-Gáo, previously described. The river takes its rise in the mountain range of the Lowá-Ghar, bounding Tsautara'h on the south and south-east, and about a mile and a half north of Sar-aobey—the "*Surrobee*" of the map—near which place it receives a feeder from the westward. This river's bed on leaving the mountains, on the south side of the pass towards 'Ísá Khel, separates into a number of channels, spreading out like a fan towards the banks of the Indus, which channels extend along its banks from Koṭ to Khaddúzí, a distance of nearly six miles, thus indicating the volume of water that rushes down in time of floods. At other times its bed, before separating into channels, is from about one hundred and eighty to two hundred yards in breadth, and the stream, which is clear and shallow, not more than about three or four yards broad, sometimes more.

The pass follows the course of the river, and near the village of Koṭ-ka'í, on the right-hand side as you proceed, the defile begins to narrow. At the crest of the first range crossed, it is only from six to seven feet wide, and in this manner extends for about sixty yards or more, with high cliffs on either side. At one place, in front of the chasm, where the passage is about six or seven yards broad, there are the holes in which great wooden beams were placed when the Afgháns raised *sangars* or breastworks to close the pass. After one has passed through this narrow chasm, the hills begin to recede on either hand, and are much lower.

You continue to follow the course of the Chichálaey river, which is now a considerable stream; and, after it receives a tributary from the small dara'h on the left hand, bends to the right, towards the hamlet of Ja'far Mela'h, and the defile again narrows, with cliffs towering over head, to about six or seven yards, in some places winding considerably, down which, when the stream rises, the water rushes, rendering it highly dangerous. This is a very strong part of the defile, and would be difficult to force.

The road, if such it can be called, continues in much the same manner, widening in some places, until you reach Sar-aobey, within a mile or two of which the height of the hills decreases, and the way becomes more open. At Sar-aobey another track branches off to the eastwards of that village, called the Wala'h road, which is sometimes followed in preference.

After leaving Sar-aobey, still following the course of the Chichálaey river, the defile again begins to narrow very much, and winds and turns considerably, but, towards the crest of the last part of the Lowá-Ghar range, bounding Tsautara'h on the south-west, distant about four miles, and styled the Angháshaey Sar, the road winds between high cliffs. Sometimes it runs at the sides of steep spurs, where the path narrows occasionally to a few feet, and two or three ravines have to be crossed, then, winding through low hills, the crest is reached. The road downwards into Tsautara'h lies in the bed of a watercourse, which is very stony for about three miles or over, until you get clear of the defile altogether. The total distance from the entrance on the 'Ísá Khel side, until you finally clear the defile, is computed at twenty miles.

It must be allowed that this pass is difficult enough at the present time, but, from what Muḥammad Afẓal Khán says above, it was considered practicable for laden animals. I have given a brief description of it here because, without doubt, this is the pass entered by the light troops of Bábar Bádsháh when he made the raid upon the 'Ísá Khel, who retired to the hills of Chaubárah or Chaupárah, as he styles them in his narrative, which, evidently, from the direction given, can be no other than the hills of Chautara'h, as non-Afgháns, who would substitute "*ch*" for "*ts*," would pronounce Tsautara'h, and "*p*" or "*b*," in the second syllable, is a common error of writing پ or ب for ت, *e.g.* Tsautara'h—څوتره, and Chaubára'h—چوباره, or Chaupára'h چوپاره. See page 360, where this raid is referred to.

Upon the whole, I am inclined to believe that this route was not so difficult in former times as it has since become, and that some great physical changes have made it worse than it was at the period in question.

people might be able to proceed by the Tsautara'h road to Pas'háur. I therefore sent for the Kad-khudás of the Bangí Khel, the Ságharís, and Gúḍí Khel, and placed small parties of them on the road, stationed my own men with them, provided escorts, and protected the Sháh-Zádah's camp from plunderers by stationing my own people around it about two kuroh off. With these arrangements the Sháh-Zádah was well pleased.

"By the removal of Iṣálat Khán, the Gakhar, Mubáriz Khán, the Gakhár, got the Sulṭání of Dánglaey, together with the Fowj-dárí of Jál.* Iṣalát Khán had then left the Sháh-Zádah, and had withdrawn to Láhor. When the Dánglaey Sulṭání was conferred on Mubáriz Khán, Gakhar, through the means of Muhammad Husain, the Bakáwal, it was understood that he should accept the Fowj-dárí of Bannú, which he agreed to do. Now, however, he said he would proceed to Pothwár,† and arrange affairs there, and, that when the Sháh-Zádah marched from Bágh towards Kábul, he would return, and proceed to Bannú.

"After the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, had marched from Bágh into 'Ísá Khel, Bahrám again endeavoured to raise trouble for me in Tsautara'h, but Námdár Khán, who was there with my men, behaved well, and routed and dispersed, but did not kill, any of the Tsautara'h rebels. I sent him a reinforcement of 40 or 50 horsemen from 'Ísá Khel.

"When the Sháh-Zádah marched from thence, we proceeded to Laka'í of the Marwats, and encamped there. Whilst at Bágh, I had solicited that the *jágír* or fief of Bágh might be given to me; and here, at Laka'í, I received the *sanad* or patent of investiture thereof, bearing the seals of the Bakhshís or Paymasters.

"Iṣálat Khán, who had retired to Láhor, not liking, apparently, the Bannú appointment, again returned; and, at Laka'í, he had an interview with the Sháh-Zádah. I was directed by him to proceed from thence next day to Bannú, in advance of himself, and inspect the old fort there [Akara'h ?]; and, if I thought it a good site, he would despatch 200 *beldárs* [sappers—*lit.* excavators], and put it again into a state of defence, but if not, I was to select another site for a fort. I reached it the same day, and remained some days there. The Sháh-Zádah arrived in due time, and encamped on the other [west] side of the Bannú district. Náṣir Khán was then directed to take my place in the fort; and I was sent to Kohát, to escort treasure, which had arrived there from the Bádsháh [Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír] for the use of the forces of the Sháh-Zádah. I accordingly set out towards Ṭsautara'h; and when I got to Damí Málí, between Bannú and Laṭi-Mar,‡ I had an adventure with three lions.§ It was

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* It will be noticed from this that the "Sulṭání" did not rest on descent, but with the will of the Bádsháh, even at this period.

The chiefs of the Gakhaṛ tribe, being feudatories of the Mughal empire of Dihlí, and by no means independent as they now pretend to have been, had to furnish a contingent to the forces of the State; and it was found convenient to station them, and give them employment, near their own district: hence they were often employed west of the Indus. Moreover, they were bitter enemies of the Afgháns generally.

The Sulṭání of Dánglaey must not be supposed to refer to a sovereign state, or to imply that Mubáriz, the Gakhaṛ, was a Sulṭán. The chiefs of the Gakhaṛs bore the titles of Rá'e and Rájah, and likewise Malik and Sulṭán, as already related in the notice of the Níází Afgháns. Sulṭán and Rá'e are likewise the titles the Khokhars bore, and by these they are still designated. *See* page 362. The name of this chief will not be found in the tree of descent given in Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," page 573.

At the time these surveys were made, the two chiefs of the Gakhaṛs—for there were generally two, apparently, as in the case of Tatár and Hátí in Bábar's time, and Rá'e Sárang, and his brother, Sulṭán Adam, in Akbar's—were Manṣúr 'Alí, and Ja'far. *See* Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," page 573.

† Poṭhwár, the Gakhaṛ territory, formerly extended from Ruhtás to Ráwal Pinḍí in one direction, a distance of about fifty kuroh; and about the same distance from Dánglaey to Chakkú-wál in the other direction, a very mountainous tract of country. At the time these surveys were made it was under the sway of the Sikhs. Dánglaey is an old town, but was then for the most part in ruins. It is situated on a mountain spur about one kuroh west of the Wihat or Jhilam, the noise of whose waters can be distinctly heard from the town.

‡ When the Khaṭaks came out of the tract known as Shú-ál or Shuh-ál Ghar, mentioned at pages 328 and 329, and came into Bannú to their Kaṛlárṉí kinsmen, the Shítaks, they are said to have held the lands lying on the Ṣadrawan Wela'h or Watercourse. This is "supposed" by some to have been situated "between "two branches of the river Khuram," about eight miles east of the present town of Bannú; and it is also "supposed" that what appears in the maps as "the *Ahdhummee Nala*" is the *Wela'h* in question. This stream, however, is not a branch of the river of Kurmah: it is merely a tributary. If the supposition is correct, it is strange that a Khaṭak chief should not have even referred to a place so celebrated in his tribe's history. He was close upon it here, for it runs just midway between Lati-Mar and Bannú, and he *must* have crossed the so-called "Ahdhummee N." on his way. *See* note †, page 429.

§ The word used in the original, namely, *m'zaraey*, is the name applied to the panther, as well as to the lion. The lions in question are probably much the same as those to be found in the province of Guzarát in the Presidency of Bombay, and in other parts farther north. It is curious to note that it was not very many miles to the northward of this spot, and not far from

the spring season, about No-roz [the vernal equinox]. Rain had fallen during the night, and we consequently discovered their footmarks [in the sandy ground]. I got out of my *pálkí*, and mounted a horse, in order to follow them up; for I had long desired to have a chance of hunting them. We came upon them, and surrounded them. One fled to the *jangal*, but the other two stood at bay, and confronted us, and, after killing one, we wounded the other, but it managed to escape, or, rather, we could not find it.

"I conveyed the treasure to Bannú in due course; and I was left there to collect revenue, and wait until Mubáriz Khán, the Gakhaṛ [appointed Fowj-dár], should arrive, after whom a *Gurz-bardár* or mace-bearer had gone to Jál. I was left without any means, or troops to afford assistance, to enable me to collect the *lákh* of rúpís [the 'revenue' referred to above] which Náṣir Khán had imposed, and of which 30,000 or 40,000 rúpís had been collected by my means. Náṣir Khán had proceeded into Dawaṛ by the Ḥasan Tangaey;* and, after he left, even the Taḥṣíl horsemen deserted, and followed him. I left it likewise, and went and halted at Lati-Mar; and from that place I despatched one of the Gurz-bardárs [left with me], along with Abd-ur-Raḥmán, to Bágh, to receive charge of the *jágír*, according to the terms of the *sanad* or patent of investiture, and summon Mubáriz Khán to come into Bannú. When 'Abd-ur Raḥmán arrived at Bágh, he would not comply; and wrote decidedly that he had not taken the Sulṭání of Dánglaey under promise of accepting the charge of Bannú.

"I had been knocked about on journeys enough, and was in want of funds; the time of harvest, too, was come: so I went with my people to Ṭíraey. I was obliged to impose a *pesh-kash* upon them there† for my expenses; and there I dismissed my force to their homes. Having stayed a month at Ṭíraey to enable the pesh-kash to be presented, I set out for Saráe.

"Arrived there, I heard that the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, had marched from Khost towards Kábul by the Shawák route;‡ and that the Afgháns of Shawák had occupied the Dara'h and Ghás'haey to bar his advance. He sent forward his troops to dislodge them and force a passage. Jamál-ud-Dín, son of Kamál-ud-Dín, and grandson of Dalíl Khán, was killed by a bullet; and many others fell along with him. The Afghán position was a very strong and difficult one, and fights went on daily in endeavouring to force it, but the Afgháns, in their turn, assailed the

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Dzalúzí, that Bábar Bádsháh, when returning from his expedition to Bharah and Khush-áb, fell in with and killed a *babar*, which word is equivalent to Pus'hto *m'zaraey*. He had passed the Sind or Indus half way between the place where the river of Kábul unites with the Sind, and Níl-áb-i-Kuhnah, or Old Níl-áb [I think Bábar knew best where he did cross, although some compilers have asserted to the contrary], and was proceeding to Bagrám, which he reached in two marches. His route must have been by the Súníála'h Ghás'haey or Pass, the direct road; and, when moving from his first halting ground, a *babar* or tiger rushed out roaring from the *jangal* on the banks of a river. The rush frightened the horses so, that, for a time, they were beyond the control of their riders, rushing every here and there. The tiger was, however, soon surrounded, but turned to the *jangal* again. Bábar directed that a buffalo should be driven into the *jangal*, which was done, and the *babar's* position was discovered. Arrows were discharged against the animal, several of which struck it; and it was brought to bay in a bush (or clump of bushes). Bábá, the Yasáwal, drew his sword, and approached it, but, at the time of attacking, stumbled, on which 'Alí, the Sístání, struck the *babar* on the loins; and it then threw itself into the water, and was therein finally killed, brought out, and the skin taken. Next morning the Bádsháh resumed his march, and came to Bagrám.

* *See* page 86.

† That is to say, "impose a voluntary offering or contribution," although a paradox. They were people of his own Khaṭak tribe.

‡ The word Shawák or Sh'wák occurs in several places in the original MS., written by Muḥammad Afẓal Khán himself, a copy of which I have. The very oldest settlement of the Khaṭak tribe, that we know of, was called Shuh-ál Ghar or Shú-ál, referred to in a preceding note, not Shawák, which is the same, apparently, as referred to by Elphinstone under the name of "Sohauk."

Captain T. C. Plowden, B.S.C., in his "Translation" of a book compiled by a Pes'háwar missionary, entitled "Kalíd-i-Afghání," calls the old Khaṭak locality "*Shwál*," and says, in a note to the Translation, that "the text has *Shamál*, a misprint."

Captain Plowden adds that, "according to Háiát [Hai'át?] Khán, *Shwál* is a valley [the Khaṭak historian "says 'Ghar,' a mountain tract] 16 miles long by 8 miles broad, and lies to the west of Bannú near the Pír Ghúl "Peak." What Shuh-ál or Shú-ál refers to may be seen at pages 328 and 329. It will be again noticed in the last Section of these "Notes." What I want to point out here is, that Shawák, mentioned above, cannot possibly refer to Shuh-ál or Shú-ál, for it only requires a glance at the map to show that Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, never attempted to proceed to Kábul by that route, which lay in a direct line between Bannú and Kandahár; for the Pír Ghúl peak is only eight miles from Kární-Grám, and the Prince's object was to reach Kábul from Bannú by the shortest route. The fact of his turning off to Ghaznín when unable to proceed by it finally disposes of the "Shwál" route being referred to. To have attempted to reach Kábul by Shú-ál would have been to go some hundreds of miles out of his way, besides putting himself, knowingly, into a very hornet's nest throughout the whole way. *See* note ‡, page 90, and page 428.

Sháh-Zádah's position on all sides, and many of his men were plundered. After a month had passed in this wise, unable to force the pass and march to Kábul, the Sháh-Zádah had to take another route, and proceed through another dara'h to Ghaznín.* Allah-yár Khán, who was Fowj-dár of that place, came forth to receive him; and, after visiting the shrines at Ghaznín, the Sháh-Zádah set out from thence for Kábul. From the latter place, in the winter, he set out for Jalál-ábád, and at Khurd Kábul encountered a fall of snow, and numbers of his men perished. He continued his journey to Jalál-ábád, and there he passed the remainder of that winter."

Such is the account of an eye-witness, and prominent actor in the events he records, of the so-called "settlement of Kabul," and "reduction to nominal allegiance" of "Banu, Khost, and Daur," the exaction of "enormous sums as arrears from the people of Dáwar," and a specimen of the manner in which "the heirs and successors" of one Kalgán did *not* "hold the lands of Kálábágh free of revenue for ever."*

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* *See* note ‡, page 90, and MacGregor's "Central Asia," Vol. 1, page 406, paragraph 4.

† Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, says, with regard to the Awáns, that they cannot trace back their ancestry beyond "one Uddo," on whom, after his conversion to Islám, his spiritual guide, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, Núrí, conferred the title of Shaikh [this so-called "title" is what Hindú converts to Islám always take. *See* the "title" Shaikhá, of the Khokhars, page 367]; and, that it was this person who built himself a dwelling where Kálá-Bágh now stands. This account, he says, is *what he heard from the Awáns themselves, and that he inspected all their documents.*

Referring to the claim of the Awán Maliks to be descended from "one Kutb Sháh," whom they manage to connect with the family of the Khalífah 'Alí [much after the same fashion, and with equally as much truth, as the Balúch claim to be descended from Mír Hamzah, son of 'Abd-ul-Muṭṭalab, the paternal uncle of the Prophet of Islám, noticed in the next Section of these "Notes"], and put forth claim to Kuraish 'Arab descent, Hai'át Khán, very pertinently remarks, that "such clear names as 'Rá'e,' 'Har-Karan,' and the like, "do not confirm it." He might have added that the words "Rá'e Sárang," in Gakhaṛ names, *likewise show Hindú origin.* The time of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín is a favourite period with these petty Hindkí tribes in search of an ancestor or a pedigree, to fall back upon, or the time of, what English writers style, "Shabudin Gori:" it is like "coming over with the Conqueror" in this country.

According to some of the Awán accounts, the "Rá'e, Har-Karan," above referred to, was of Ráj-pút descent, and a person of respectability; and, having "*accepted*" Islám, he "*adopted*" the name of Kuṭb Sháh—a Ráj-pút thus making a Sayyid of himself,—and the present Awán Maliks are descended from him.

In Sir Lepel Griffin's work, entitled "the Panj-áb Chiefs," previously referred to in the account of the Khokhars, the author says that the heads of various tribes "were invited to send in an account of their "families and descent;" and at page 570 he says that "the descent of the Awán tribe has been the subject of "much speculation. At one time the Awáns have been considered of Hindú, at another of Afghán, descent "[but by whom such an astounding statement has been made is not mentioned, and certainly the Afgháns "do not say so, nor does history either], and by some as the descendants of the so-called Bactrian Greeks. "But there is nothing in the traditions of the Awáns themselves to favour the last supposition [or the Afghán "descent either?], and, indeed, it is very doubtful whether any Greeks settled in Bactria at all. The probability "is that every Greek in Alexander's army turned his back with joy upon India and the East; while the detach-"ment of the army which remained behind in Bactria was composed of barbarian auxiliaries, from whom no "historian or philologist would care to derive any tribe whatever. [*See* the 'Translation of Hai'át Khán, "'Kaṭhar's,' book by Priestly, pages 23 and 24]. . . . But all branches of the tribe are unanimous in "stating that they originally came from the neighbourhood of *Ghazni* to India [all come 'from Ghazni': it "is the same with the Gakhaṛs], and all trace their genealogy to *Hasrat* Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet "[the respectable *Ráj-pút* who *accepted* Islám, and *adopted* the *name* of Ḳuṭb Sháh, notwithstanding?]. "Kutb Shah, who came from Ghazni with Sultan Mahmud, *was the common ancestor of the Awans, the* "*Khokars, and the Khattars* [*see* the note on the Khokars and Gakhaṛs: the name of this last-mentioned "people is Kaṭhar, not *Khattar*], and in the history of Fatah [Fatḥ?] Khan Drek will be found some mention "of Awán connection with these tribes."

At page 561, Griffin also states, that "the Drek Khattars" trace "their genealogy up to Kutb Shah or "Kutb-ud-din, nicknamed 'Aibak,' from his broken finger [*see* my 'Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí,' "page 513], and 'Lakh baksh' from his liberality, who was for many years the Viceroy of Shahab-ud-din "Ghori, in India, and who afterwards himself reigned the first of the slave kings. But this story is certainly "false."

I quite agree. It only shows what a muddle these people are in respecting their antecedents, their ignorance of history in which they are often mentioned, and their great assurance in supposing that we are equally ignorant of history. Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Ī-bak—not Aibak—was a Turk, and was not called Ḳuṭb Sháh at all. Ī-bak was his Turkish name, and Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín his Musalmán name. The Awán "Kutb Shah" must have lived to a great age; for between Maḥmúd of Ghaznín's death and Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín being left as his master's deputy in Hindústán is a period of only *one hundred and fifty-seven years.* Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Ī-bak, was the slave of the Sulṭán, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, the Shansabání Tájzík ruler of the Ghaznín state, whose brother, and suzerain, the Sulṭán, Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, ruled over Ghúr and its dependencies. After his master's death in 602 H. (1205 A.D.), Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Ī-bak, having been manumitted by his master's nephew and successor, Sulṭán Maḥmúd, son of Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, succeeded to the sovereignty of the Dihlí kingdom of which he had so long held charge.

Seeing that the Khaṭak Afgháns, for a long period of time, held the *jágír* of Bágh—that is Ḳará or Kálá-Bágh, as mentioned in the text above, *and were still holding it when these surveys were made* (*see* page 372), it is amusing, but, at the same time, very distressing, to read such "history" as the following:—

"The Maliks of Kálábágh have always been men of weight and distinction [by their own account?]; the importance of their town *has necessitated their friendship or co-operation being either sought or coerced by*

To resume the account of the route.

"The road through this defile (the Shakar Dara'h) is tortuous and rugged, and is in some parts difficult, narrowing as you ascend, until you reach the crest, which is a

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successive invaders of the Trans-Indus provinces [but what history says so? Were the Chingiz Khán, Tímúr, Bábar, or Humáyún, or Nádir Sháh, Aḥmad Sháh, Tímúr Sháh, or Sháh-i-Zamán, so 'necessitated;' or Akbar, Jahán-gír, Sháh-i-Jahán, or Aurang-zeb? history proving the contrary]. The present man, Malik Muzafar [Muzaffar?] Khán, Khán Bahadúr [Bahádur?], is a lineal descendant of one Kalgán, who, in the commencement of the *eleventh century*, came down in the train of Súltán [Sultán?] Mahmúd of Gházni [Ghazní?], accompanied by a body of Awáns [according to their own account, mentioned by Griffin, their ancestor was the respectable 'Ráj-pút, who adopted the name of Kutb Sháh,' or 'Kutb-ud-din Aibak, 'Viceroy of India.' Firishtah too, says 'Afgháns,' not 'a body of Awáns'], as a reward for their assistance [what an army he must have had, if all the various Hindkí tribes in search of a pedigree 'came down' with him! there could have been no room for his Turkish troops], and probably to secure a safe passage over the Indus in case of reverses, Mahmúd gave the lands round Kálábágh free of revenue to Kalgán, his heirs and successors for ever [a system which the Maliks would like, no doubt, to see carried out by the British Government 'for ever']. Settled in a strange country, and surrounded by *strange and barbarous people* [we must, consequently, conclude that the Awáns themselves were *highly civilized* at this period], Kalgán first established his head-quarters at Dingot, a natural fortress on the right bank of the Indus, four miles north of the town of Kálábágh. He laboured hard to conciliate the neighbouring tribes; this accomplished, he left his fortress [in another place, in the very same book that the above is contained in, it is stated that '*the grand-father of the present Malik built the village* once existing on Dingot'] *and laid the foundations of what has been for centuries* one of the most thriving commercial towns [Kálá or Ḳará-Bágh is referred to] on the river Indus."—MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. II., page 85.

But let us now turn to another part of the work above referred to, under the head of "Awáns," Vol. II., p. 119. There they are said to be "a tribe found scattered in Yúsafzái and the Kohát district, as well as in "Hazára and other districts on the left bank of the Indus. . . . . *They are said to be emigrants from "the Panjáb.*" Immediately follows the following from Cracroft's "Settlement Report" of the Ráwal Pindí district, as though the Awáns here were a different tribe altogether from those of Kálá-Bágh, who "came down" with Mahmúd:—

"The west of this district is entirely held by a tribe called the Awáns, who have probably not been here "250 years [they submitted to Bábar in 925 H. (1519 A.D.), and that is just *three hundred and sixty four "years ago*, and they had long been located there before his time]; they are said to have come from *Herat* "[Ghazni of the other accounts], and may possibly be the descendants of the Bactrian Greeks [or very possibly "*may not*] driven south from Balkh by Tartar hordes, and turning from Herat to India. *They came as a "conquering army under leaders of their own*," etc., etc. So here "Kutb Shah" and "Kalgán," who "came down with Súltán Mahmúd of Gházni" and "Shaikh Uddo," are thrown overboard altogether.

Here, however, is a still more amusing account of the Awáns, which is totally contrary to all the others given above. Captain T. C. Plowden, in his translation of the compilation styled "Kalíd-i-Afghání," previously referred to, page 200, note 9, quoting Major-General A. Cunningham's "Archæological Survey of India," Vol. 2, tells us, that "The Awáns are a people of Hindú origin descended from one Aná (hence their name "Anú-wán), the son of Yayátí, the founder of the Innar race [only they are called Awáns, not Anú-wáns]. "They hold at the present day, and have done so for centuries (probably from 100 B.C.), the western half of "the Panjab Salt Range towards Níláb. They are the Júd tribe mentioned by Babar, Júd being another "name for the Salt Range."

If Major-General Cunningham had only studied the translation of Bábar's work by Leyden and Erskine he would have found that the Júds and Janjhúhahs were descended from a common ancestor, and that they were distinct from the Awáns. Further, Abú-l-Fazl also makes a distinction between them. The Janjhúhahs are the only tribe, I may say, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, who give a sober, and tolerably correct, account of themselves. *See* under "*Janjoah*" in Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," pages 602—606.

Thorburn, in his book on Bannú and its Settlement, on the other hand, says, that the 'Ísá Khel Niázís, when they arrived on the Indus, *expelled the Awáns and Jats from it*. All were not expelled, however, for there were Awáns there in Afẓal Khán, Khaṭak's time, when he held the *jágír* or fief, and are there still.

It is very strange that Bábar Bádsháh, who gives such full and interesting details respecting the tribes dwelling on this part of the Indus, and in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, did not find out those important Awán personages "whose friendship or co-operation" it was so necessary for the invaders of the Trans-Indus provinces "to seek or to coerce." Neither was Abú-l-Fazl, the author of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, aware of their importance; and such a "thriving town" as Kálá-Bágh, which has been founded "centuries," is not once mentioned throughout his work for very good reasons, but he mentions the villages peopled by the Awáns in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and informs us that, among them, they held the *maḥáll* dependent on Dhan-Ḳot, on the *east* bank of the Mihrán or Sind, and that they were rated at 150 horsemen and 5,000 footmen for militia purposes.

The inhabitants of the Sarkár or district which included 'Ísá Khel, Bannú, and Dawaṛ, mentioned by him, I have previously noticed, and he has no Awáns therein. They were subject to, or owned allegiance to Khán Kajú, the renowned chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, as mentioned in note †, page 354, as well as other Hindkí tribes.

When the Khaṭaks, under Malik Ako, began to push northwards and eastwards towards the Shakar Dara'h, the Awáns of Bágh—by which name, and Bágh of the Awáns, the Khaṭaks style Kálá or Ḳará-Bágh—as soon as they became aware of their movements, concluding that they had designs upon their district, made an attack upon them, and many were killed on either side. The Khaṭaks, however, were not checked in their movements, and they took possession of (what was subsequently called) the Khwaṛa'h and Súníála'h.

The Khaṭaks after this waged war with many of the surrounding tribes, and among them were the Awáns of Súh-an Sakesara, whom they did not consider it necessary to "conciliate." They crossed the Indus into the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h, ravaged and wasted the country round Sakesara, and took both males and females

cleft in the hills,* rather less than half way from Kálá-Bágh, after which the hills begin to recede, and the country becomes more open.

"Following the course of this little river [the Ber-án Wání], for a distance of six or seven kuroh in the direction of north, you ascend the mountains [the Salt Range] on the right-hand side, the said river being on the left, and, having reached the crest, you go on for another two kuroh and a half, and reach Shakar Dara'h, a village† belonging to the Ságharí section of the Khaṭak tribe of Afgháns.

"From this place Makhaḍ is distant fifteen kuroh to the east, inclining south-east, and the road to it is well known.‡ Leaving the village of the Shakar Dara'h, you continue to proceed in the direction of north for a distance of ten kuroh, and reach Málg-ín. In the Pus'hto or Afghán language salt is called *málga'h*, and whatever salt is found in this mountain tract is brought to this *ḳaṣba'h*§ (town) and sold, and the income derived therefrom appertains to the Wálí or Chief of this place and territory: hence the adjective formed from the above noun, namely, Malg-ín—Salt—is the name by which the place is known to the Afgháns. On the way from the Shakar Dara'h to this village there are numerous steep and difficult ascents, gorges, and ravines, and a high mountain range. The whole range from the Shakar Dara'h to Malg-ín contains salt; and south of the *ḳaṣba'h*, likewise, is a great mountain range running from west to east for a considerable distance, just before you reach which, you cross the bed of the Ṭíraey To-e. The salt of this mountainous tract, although it is not quite white, nevertheless, is of excellent savour, and it is taken away and sold as far off as Kábul and Chitrál.

"Leaving Malg-ín, you proceed eight kuroh in the direction of north, inclining north-west, to S'hádí Khel,‖ the name by which three or four villages are known, and

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captive; indeed 40,000 Awáns more or less fell into captivity. Such is Khush-ḥál Khaṭak's account of his tribe's invasion of the Awáns' territory, in his grandfather's time.

A comparison of the above accounts will show what a terrible jumble has been made of the history of these Jaṭ or Hindkí tribes of the Panj-áb, all the accounts being as wild and exaggerated as they are different from each other and contrary to history and fact. Herodotus, however, as yet, has not been introduced among them.

* This defile is locally known as the Gháso-e Pass.

† The Shakar Dara'h is not a village, but it gives name to a village, or rather "the village in the Shakar Dara'h," which is thirteen miles from Kálá-Bágh.

‡ The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, when returning from Kábul to Dihlí by way of Pes'háwar, Akhoṛ, and Kohát, in 1198 H. (1783–84 A.D.) left the latter place with an escort provided by Nawwáb Khán, the Bá'izí chief of the Lower Bangas'h Karlárnís, and proceeded to Láchí, then to Shewah-kí ("*Shuwáki*" of the maps), a small village of Sayyids, situated at the foot of the hills east of the former place. "Here," he says, "two roads branch off, one of which leads to Makhaḍ, in the direction of east, distant sixteen *kos*: the "other to Kálá-Bágh, in the direction of south-east, and distant twenty-four *kos*. The latter route was "declared dangerous, being infested by the Bhangí Khel, who are arrant thieves. The road, likewise, is "difficult, as it contains many *kotals*, and no guides were procurable. The Makhaḍ route, on the contrary, "was less difficult, and less in danger of robbers; so I proceeded to the chief village in the Shakar Dara'h, "and from thence went twelve *kos* to Makhaḍ. The head-man there procured boats for us; and we dropped "down to Kálá-Bágh, the distance by river being twenty-five *kos*, and, by land, twelve." From thence he went by land to 'Ísá Khel, and paid dearly for so doing, as mentioned at page 370, note ‡.

§ This place is now a small village. It is now called "*Malgheen*," however. A collector and seller of salt is called Málg-bah.

‖ This is the identical route followed by Elphinstone, and, subsequently, by Wood. The former, after describing the defile, says (Introduction, page 62): "We afterwards went through the hills, and crossed two "cotuls or passes; from the last and steepest of which we descended into Malgeen. This was a green and "pleasant valley, about twelve miles long, and five broad, surrounded by mountains. . . . We marched "again on the 21st of February; and, after crossing a low rocky pass, descended into the country of the "Shaudee Khail, whose principal village we passed. It was very pleasingly situated among trees on the banks "of the Toe, a deep and clear stream, flowing rapidly through a picturesque valley, the view of which was "terminated at no great distance by snowy mountains."

Wood says, after reaching "Shukur Durah," as he calls the Shakar Dara'h, "On the 10th (August) we set "out together for Kohat. The first halt we called was at the fine large village of *Kurrilsun*, [this is the "*Kureerosum* of the map, and *Karírosum* of MacGregor], three miles before entering which we crossed the "Lun rivulet."

so called after a section or clan of the Bá'ízí tribe of Karlární Afgháns. The narrow Dara'h in which they are situated, which is seven kuroh in length from west to east, is also called S'hádí Khel. It has lofty hills both on the north and south; and the river of Kohát, or Kághzí river, flows through this dara'h, runs to the eastward, and unites with the Abáe-Sind or Abáe-Sín. For the first quarter of the distance between Malg-ín and S'hádí Khel, the road lies along the dry bed of a small river dependent on rain, which comes from the westward, and, after passing north of Malg-ín, unites with the Abáe-Sind. To the east of S'hádí Khel are several villages belonging to the Kamál Khel clan of the Bá'ízís. From S'hádí Khel you continue on for a distance of three kuroh and a half in the direction of north-west to Ḍhoḍha'h,* a small village, built on the skirt of the hills, belonging to the clan of the Bá'ízís so called; and on the way to it you have to cross a steep gorge or *kotal*. South of the village a considerable river flows, which you cross, and which comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the Kághzí river. Setting out from Ḍhoḍhah, and going downwards in the direction of north-west for the distance of half a kuroh, you reach a river depending on rain, which comes from the right hand, from the direction of Togh, and, running to the left, unites with the river of the Kághzís.† On the road you have to cross a small *kotal*; and from the river before mentioned you proceed three kuroh north-west, inclining north, to Tappí, belonging to, and named after, a clan of the Afgháns of Bangas'h; and from this point the Khaṭak territory terminates, and the territories known as the Bangas'hát or the Bangas'hes‡ commence."

THE KARLÁRNÍ AFGHÁN TRIBES OF BANGAS'H.

A brief account of the sub-tribes inhabiting Upper Bangas'h has been already given in Section Second, page 74, and the Afgháns now to be noticed are known generally as the tribes *of*, or *inhabiting*, Lower Bangas'h. But as I may not have clearly explained before that there are no tribe or tribes or sections of tribes *named* Bangas'h, I must do so here, because ignorance of the true application of this word has led many into terrible blunders.

Bangas'h, called by the Eastern Afgháns Bangak'h, is the name of the extensive territory before noticed; and the tribes, and sections of tribes, dwelling within it, are known as the tribes *of*, or *inhabiting*, Bangas'h. These, with very few exceptions, are exclusively Karlárnís, the descendants of Karlárnaey, whose descent I shall presently relate. The Afgháns, when they first entered these parts, displaced the original inhabitants, or, at least, the people they then found dwelling therein, and they were known as Budlí, and Budní, "*l*" and "*n*" being, at times, interchangeable. They consisted of several tribes, and held a large tract of country, extending from Nangnahár to the Indus.§ We might just as well call all the Afgháns inhabiting the

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* Ḍhoḍha'h is now a good sized village. Elphinstone says: "The roads near this were crowded with "Afghauns, some of whom welcomed us, while all behaved with civility. At our encamping ground near the "very large village of Dodeh [so he calls Ḍhoḍha'h, which is the *Doda* of Wood, and Dhoda of the map and "MacGregor], we were met by Omar Khaun (the son of the Bungush chief), with seven or eight hundred "matchlock men, dressed in blue. This place was in the plain of Cohaut," etc. The general dress of the Afgháns of these parts is dark blue.

Wood says: "In the evening we moved forward to the village of Doda, the country continuin "beautiful. . . . The long narrow valleys, rich and sheltered, lying between these lateral chains, looke "the very abodes of peace and comfort. In one of these valleys which we crossed during this day's march, "village called Shadí Kyl [S'hádí Khel] was built on the slope of its northern ridge. Before the doors of th "houses a small clear brook glided by in a shallow bed, bordered with grass and with a row of mulberry tree "From the banks of this rivulet the fields spread out, clothing the region with one sheet of green." Compa MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part 1, Vol. 1, page 85.

† Considerable changes have taken place in parts of the course of this stream, which does not reach the riv of the Kághzí now. *See* note ‡, page 421.

‡ Considerable changes have taken place in the boundaries too since these surveys were made. The prese boundary on the south is the river of Koháṭ or river of the Kághzí.

§ The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, who is, I believe, the only writer who mentions these people, says they we Káfirs, that is non-Musalmáns, but he does not refer to Buddhists. I think it necessary to mention this, so th there may be no "jumping at conclusions," referred to farther on, on a slight similarity between names.

Ghaznín district and the Kábul province the Ghazní tribe and the Kábulí tribe, as the Afgháns dwelling in Bangas'h, the Bangas'h tribe.*

These tribes, or rather sub-tribes of Afgháns, known to the chroniclers of these people as the "Aḳwám-i-Bangas'h-i-Pá'ín," or "tribes *of* or *inhabiting* Lower Bangas'h," are, as stated above, of the sept of Kaṛláṛní. With respect to the names of their immediate progenitors for one or two generations after their forefather, Kaṛláṛnaey, and his foster father, there is some discrepancy, and, possibly, a little confusion in this genealogical account, caused, in all probability, by the emigration of a great number of persons of these tribes into Hindústán during the reigns of the Afghán sovereigns, and in more recent times.

In most of the native accounts which have been written of the Afgháns, the traditions respecting the descent of Kaṛláṛnaey have been more or less confused, and, in some instances, mutilated; while some of the tribes descended from him, especially those of the present day, relate separate and different portions of it and rarely know the whole: hence, probably, the confused accounts which I have before referred to.

The first tradition is, that two persons of the family of Aor-Maṛ [son of Amar-ud-Dín, or Amár Dín, fifth son of Sharaf-ud-Dín, *alias* Sharkabún, son of Saṛahbaṛn or Saṛaban, eldest son of Kais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, *alias* "the Paṭán," by Sárah [*i.e.*, Sarah], of the family of Khálid, son of Walíd, of the Baní Makhzúm, who was descended from Yahúdá [*i.e.*, Judah†], one of whom was named 'Abd-ullah, and the other Zakaríyá

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* Those of the Budlí people who dwelt in Bangas'h might be called Bangas'hís in that sense, in the same manner as the people of Hindústán are termed Hindústánís, whatever their religion or tribe. Indeed, Khush-ḥál Khán, in one of his poems (*see* my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 187), mentions the ancient or non-Afghán inhabitants of Bangas'h Tí-ráh, Suwát, and Lamghán in this sense. He says:—

"The Lamghánís, Bangas'hís, Suwátís, Tí-ráhís,—all of them
Are dancers and fiddlers—and who will be friends with such?"

The Afrídís then dwelt in Tí-rah, but are not styled Tí-ráhís, for Khush-ḥál mentions that people distinctly, as I shall relate further on; and he could not have referred to the Afrídís in such terms, for they were Kaṛláṛnís, like the Khaṭaks, and his staunchest allies at all times; and there is nothing of the dancer or fiddler in their composition.

These Budlís or Budnís were expelled from Nangnahár by the ruler of Pích and Lamghán, named Sulṭán Bahrám, whose brother ruled over Suwát, Bájawṛ, Buner, and other territories in that direction. He took up his residence at Pápín in Nangnahár, and died at Koṭ in that same territory.

The Budlís or Budnís, on being expelled from Nangnahár, fled eastwards, according to the Ákhúnd (where dwelt others of their race already referred to); and the descendants of Sulṭán Bahrám held possession until the time that the Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, subdued the parts around, after which they were for some time vassals of him and his descendants. In course of time, however, even the chieftain-ship passed out of the hands of the family. The Awáns, Kaṭhars, and Gakhaṛs are probably some of the Budní or Budlí tribes or clans who crossed the Indus into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah.

The Ákhúnd also says that the Sulṭáns of Pích were Turks; and he gives the names of several generations of them, and says that they claimed descent from Shamús, descended from *one of the sons* of Sikandar-i-Zú-l-Ḳarnain. The Ákhúnd's mother was a daughter of Malik Názú, who was sixth in direct descent from Sulṭán Bahrám.

† The following is one statement respecting this descent. A person named Makhzúm, a descendent of Yahúdá, son of Ya'ḳúb, was of those Hebrews, who, having been expelled from the Bait-ul-Muḳaddas by Bakht-un-Naṣṣar, betook themselves to the neighbouring country of the 'Arabs, the descendants of their kinsman, Ismá'íl, where, finding they could no longer worship in the House of God, founded by Dá'úd and Sulímán, they betook themselves to the House, founded by their forefather, Ibráhím, and his son, Ismá'íl [*i.e.*, Makkah], and there used to worship. Makhzúm, having gained a name among his people, his descendants were known as the Baní Makhzúm; and they intermarried with the 'Arab tribe of Ḳuraish. Walíd, the father of the famous Khálid, was of the Baní Makhzúm, but, as 'Abd-ush-Shams was his maternal grandfather, on this account Walíd is often accounted among the Ḳuraish tribe since the time of Islám. Walíd's family became united with those Ḳuraish infidels who opposed the prophet, Muḥammad, and were among the leaders who encountered him in battle at Uḥud. In the year 8 H. (629–30 A.D.), however, Khálid, with three other chiefs among the 'Arabs, came to Madínah and embraced the new faith. Khálid, who, as a leader of the Musalmáns, performed many brilliant exploits, died in the year 21 H. (642 A.D.). His sons, 'Abd-ur-

[Zacharias], when the family were moving from their summer to their winter quarters, went out hunting one day, and, by chance, reached a place where a number of people had very recently encamped, but appeared to have suddenly departed. Searching about, Zakaríyá, who was the father of a numerous family, and in indigent circumstances, found a male child, who, from appearances had only been born the previous night, while 'Abd-ullah, who was childless, found a shallow iron cooking vessel. As they were both of one family, and kinsmen of each other, 'Abd-ullah said to Zakaríyá :—"Thou "art aware that I am, unfortunately, without a son. Give me this boy, and I will "bring him up as my own ; through him, my name will go down to posterity ; and, as "long as I live, I shall be grateful to thee. Take then [in lieu] this vessel, the value of "which will supply thy wants for some days." It was agreed between them accordingly. In the Pus'hto tongue a shallow iron kettle is termed *karahaey* or *kaṛhaey* ; and the man, 'Abd-ullah, thought it would be appropriate to give his adopted son a name consonant with the circumstance of finding him, and giving the kettle in exchange for him ; so he named him Kaṛlárnaey.*

When the boy grew up, and attained unto man's estate, 'Abd-ullah gave him a daughter from out of his own family [not necessarily his *own* daughter] in marriage; and by her he became the father of a numerous progeny.

Another account is, that Kaṛlárnaey was, by descent, a Saṛahbarn, and was the adopted son of Amar-ud-Dín or Amar Dín, the father of Aor-Maṛ, son of Sharaf-ud-Dín, otherwise Sharkabún ; that Aor-Maṛ's father, Amar-ud-Dín, went out hunting one day along with his brothers, Míánaey and Tarín, but some say they were his grandsons [they would thus be brothers of Aor-Maṛ], 'Abd-ullah and Zakaríyá by name; and that they reached a place where some people had recently encamped, who fearing an attack from some others, suddenly decamped, leaving the child behind.

The Khaṭaks are Kaṛlárnís ; and their account is different. Muḥammad Afzal Khán, in his history, quoting from the records in the handwriting of his famous grandfather, Khush-ḥál Khán [who was not a Mughal to be styled "Beg"] says, that, in those records, it is briefly stated that "Kaṛlárney was the son of Honaey, and "was born of his mother when on the march between the summer and the winter "quarters of the family. On account of some incident that happened, Honaey, with "his family and dependents, suddenly struck camp, and set out to join the other "families of their tribe or people. In the hurry, the babe was forgotten, and, when "he was remembered, they having rejoined the others, Aor-Maṛ, who was brother of "Honaey [but he had no brother of that name], went back to search for his nephew. "He found him, and likewise a pot [in the MS. 'pot' simply] belonging to them "[Honaey's family] which had also been left behind. He put the baby in the pot, "and placing it on his head, brought it to the camp of his people. Aor-Maṛ, who "had no son of his own, said to Honaey : 'I have brought back this thy son after "'much trouble and inconvenience : do not, therefore, take him from me : I will "'nourish him and bring him up. Take thou [instead] this pot.' Honaey became "agreeable ; and, as the infant was exchanged in lieu of a pot, which in Pus'hto is "styled *karhaey*. he was named Kaṛlárn or Kaṛlárnaey. When he grew up, Aor-"Maṛ gave him *a* daughter [out of the family] in marriage."

Raḥmán, and 'Abd-ullah, were subsequently Ḥákims (Governors) of Khurásán [that is, all the eastern parts of Islám at this period], one being stationed at Níshábúr, and the other at Hirát.

I think this fact, of these kinsmen, as they may be called, of the descendants of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, being located in the eastern parts of Islám, has not been sufficiently considered with respect to the settlements of the Afghåns ; and, the facts respecting the descent of Khálid being unknown to such compilers as Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, they cannot make it out. *See* Priestley's "Translation" of part of Hai'át's book, page 55, for a specimen of this.

* The derivation of this name seems to be from "kaṛhaey," and the now almost obsolete form of the second person imperative plural of the imperfect transitive verb لودل "*law-dal*" and لل "*lal*"—"to assign," "impart," "deliver," "give," etc., namely, "lárn'ai" (after the manner of the same form of the verb "*kawul*," t "do," etc., namely, "kárn'ai"), used, more particularly, in an entreating manner. By constant use, or fo euphony, or convenience, the name became shortened into Kaṛh-lárnaey or Kaṛ-lárnaey, with the substantiv termination in the last word, namely, "aey," in place of the pronominal plural affix "'aí," of the verb.

Then he says: "The Dilazáks, who are a great *ulús* or tribe among the Kaṛlárnís, " account Kaṛlárnaey to be a Ḥusainí Sayyid, according to the following arrange- " ment [given, for comparison, farther on]." Khush-ḥál then promises, subsequently, to give a more detailed account of the Kaṛlárnís, but, unfortunately, he never did so; for it is not given in the history written from those records by his grandson, neither is it to be found in any other of his works with which I am acquainted.

The confusion in this last account is evident, because Aor-Mar had no brother called Honaey, but one of the two sons of the Devotee, the Sayyid, Muḥammad-i-Gísú-Daráz, by a Kaṛlární wife, was called Honaey, and the other Waṛdag; and "their " descendants, as well as the descendants of the other sons of that Devotee, although " in reality, Sayyid-Zádahs—sons of a Sayyid—having married Afghán wives, are " accounted Afgháns." This account, although confused in some respects, nevertheless, throws some additional light upon the subject, as I shall presently show.

As Kaṛhlárn or Kaṛlárnaey was adopted by Aor-Maṛ, who was the son of Amar-ud-Dín or Amar Dín, the son of Sharkabún, and accounted among the Aor-Maṛ by the Afgháns themselves, the Khaṭaks consider themselves Saṛahbarns as well as Kaṛlárnís.

"The father of Aor-Maṛ, Amar-ud-Dín or Amar Dín," according to the Afghán traditions, "was not much known, but his son, being a man of substance, gained a " name for himself, and the father's name became eclipsed by that of the son." The derivation of the name Aor-Maṛ is as follows, for it is but a by-name. His mother, who was his father's first wife, was the daughter of a blacksmith, or, rather, one who worked in iron; and his step-mother sometimes, in anger, when he did not do something or other to her satisfaction, would say, by way of reproach, "The blacksmith's " fire (اور—*aor*) is gone out (مړشه—*maṛ* shah)"; and by degrees the name of " Aor-Maṛ clung to him."*

But now let us turn to the statement of the Dilazáks, who are also Karlárnís. They contend that they are Ḥusainí Sayyids, that is, that they are, through their progenitor, Kaṛlárnaey, descended from the Imám, Ḥusain. I wish also to point out that neither they nor the Khaṭaks refer at all to the Devotee, Muḥammad-i-Gísú-Daráz. The generations given by the Dilazáks are as follow:—"Kaṛlárn or Kaṛlárnaey, son of " Sayyid Ḳáb, son of Sayyid Rijál, son of Sayyid Khátim, son of Sayyid Ismá'íl, son of " Sayyid Ja'far-i-Ṣádiḳ, son of the Imám, Muḥammad Báḳir, son of the Imám, Zain- " ul-'Ábidain, son of the Imám, Ḥusain, son of the Khalífah, 'Alí."

Now Ḥusain was born in the year 4 H., and was killed in 61 H. Zain-ul-'Ábidain, otherwise, 'Alí-i-Aṣghar, or the Lesser 'Alí, died in the last month of 95 H.; Muḥammad Báḳir, who was born in 75 H., died in the last month of 114 H.; and Ja'far, who was born in 83 H., died in 148 H. Ismá'íl is said to have died before his father, but some say his father nominated his younger brother, Músá, to the Imámship in consequence of Ismá'íl's being addicted to wine. Be this as it may, the great schism arose in the Muḥammadan world, called the Ismá'ílí schism, about this very Ismá'íl; for the first Ismá'ílí Khalífah who assumed sovereign authority in Egypt in 296 H., namely, Abú-l-Ḳásim-i-Muḥammad, the son of 'Abd-ullah, was considered to be the lineal descendant of Ja'far's son, Ismá'íl. Consequent on this schism, it is difficult to trace *all* the descendants of this Ismá'íl; and no mention is made of Khátim, Rijál, or Ḳáb, from whom the Dilazáks trace Karlárnaey's descent. Supposing Ismá'íl to have died a short time before his father, if we allow thirty years to a generation, the usual computation, Sayyid Ḳáb, who, from the tree of descent given, would be the great-grandson of Ismá'íl, must have lived, or rather have been born, about 208 H.; and, after the same computation, Kaṛlárnaey, whom the Dilazáks say

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* In his book entitled "A Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857," Mr. Bellew, after mentioning (page 63), that "two *Ormur* men"—not two "*Khattaks*" in this instance—went out in search of game and found "Karaláni"—not Turklánrí here—says, that "the Ormur were fire-worshippers, and, indeed, received this " name from the Afgháns on account of the peculiar religious ceremonies observed by them."

The statement in the text above is *the* Afghán account of the derivation of this nickname, but, in Mr. Bellew's book, it is stated that "it is related of them that they congregated for worship once a week, and " that the men and women were indiscriminately mixed in their religious assemblies. At the conclusion of " their devotions, the officiating priest extinguished the fire they worshipped, and, at the same time, exclaimed " 'Or mur,' a term expressive of the act, for in Pukhtú 'or' means 'fire,' and 'mur' means 'dead,' " 'extinct.'" I thought it was a peculiar tenet of the "fire-worshippers" *never to extinguish fire.*

This, wherever it came from, is merely a very greatly distorted account of some of the ceremonies invented by Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, the Anṣárí, who came from among the Aor-Maṛ tribe, but, seeing that he flourished subsequent to the year 900 H. (1494–95 A.D.), how the ancestor of the Aor-Maṛ tribe, who must have lived some five or six hundred years before, could have obtained a nickname from the doings of Pír-i-Ros'hán is a puzzle. "Ros'hán" means light, and Pír-i-Ros'hán, the Saint of Light, hence the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí, nicknamed him Pír-i-Tárík, or Saint of Darkness. *See* page 268, where 'Alí is mentioned.

was his son, about 238 to 240 H., but it may have so happened that, at this disturbed period of time, after, or in consequence of, this schism, some of the later Sayyids named may have lived a less number of years than the usual average given.

After the same manner we may compute the period in which Aor-Maṛ lived. Kais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, surnamed "the Paṭán," is said to have died in the year 41 H., aged 87 years. If so, he must have been born in the forty-sixth year before the Hijrat; and, if we allow thirty years for each generation here also, for the four generations preceding Aor-Maṛ, he would have lived between 104 H. and 134 H., and, therefore, it is scarcely possible for Kaṛlárnaey to have been the adopted son of Aor-Maṛ, but, rather of a grandson, or even a great-grandson, of his. A grandson would have flourished between 164 H. and 194 H., and a great-grandson between 194 H. and 224 H.

Again, let us examine the genealogical tree of the Sayyid, Muḥammad, *alias* Gísú-Daráz—"Of the long ringlets"—who, at an early period, took up his residence among the Afghán tribes, and about whom, and the period in which he lived, some strange mistakes have been made. One writer says "he came down into Hindústán about "the year 800 H."

The following tree of descent is given in all accounts of this celebrated Darwesh:—"Sayyid Muḥammad, son of Sayyid Ghúr, son of Sayyid 'Umar, son of Sayyid Ḳáb, "son of Sayyid Rijál, son of Sayyid Ḳá'ín"—قاين [in the Dilazák tree Khátim—خاتم stands for Ḳá'ín], and, like the preceding ones, the rest of the names, from Sayyid Ismá'íl, are *precisely the same as in the Dilazák tree.* Thus we see that Sayyid Muḥammad-i-Gísú-Daráz is *the great-grandson* of the very Sayyid from whom the Dilazáks say they are descended; and he must, consequently, have lived at about the same period of time that Aor-Maṛ's great-grandson lived.

If we put the various versions of this tradition together respecting the finding of Kaṛlárnaey, the result is this, that some 'Arab families, many of the descendants of which conquerors were dwelling to the west of the true Afghán country, now known to us by the name of "Western" Afghánistán,*—or, what is much more probable, some Sayyid families, the descendants of Ismá'íl, son of Ja'far, who had been dwelling in the Musalmán territory bounding the Afghánistán on the west and north, in Kábul and Zábul, and had been proscribed as schismatics, or feared persecution, as the sequel tends to show,—happened to be encamped not far from where Aor-Maṛ's family and dependants had pitched their camp, when on the move from their summer towards their winter quarters.† These people, whoever they were, dreading an attack, through something that had happened, from some others hostile to them, possibly Aor-Maṛ's own family, suddenly broke up their camp and marched away in the night.‡ In the hurry and confusion of a night march, and secretly, an infant—a male child—was left behind; and it so happened that two persons of Aor-Maṛ's family—two grandsons or great-grandsons, for their names do not occur among those of his sons—named 'Abd-ullah and Zakaríyá, started from their place of encampment early in the morning in search of game. By chance, they came upon the abandoned encamping place of the strangers, where 'Abd-ullah found a male infant, and Zakaríyá an iron cooking vessel, which, in their language, the Afgháns call a "*kaṛahaey*" or "*kaṛhaey*," which they brought along with them back to the camp of their own people. Being a poor

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* There are many descendants of 'Arabs in Bájawṛ, an account of whom is given in Section Third, page 116.

† In former times they dwelt much farther west, bordering on tho Zábul or Ghaznín territory; and the pressure of other Afghán tribes compelled them to move eastwards.

‡ The descendants of Ismá'íl would, of course, be liable to severe persecution on the part of the Sunnís after the Ismá'ílí schism arose; and where could such members of his family, dwelling in the eastern parts of Islám, be more likely to find a secure retreat than among the rude and not very enlightened Afgháns of that period, who almost worshipped the name of Sayyid? It is, moreover, very evident that more than one of those very Sayyids who took up their residence among the Afgháns were schismatics of the Ismá'ílí sect, who are also styled Báṭinís as well as Muláḥidah by some writers, and whom Hulákú Khán, in after years, was sup-posed to have completely rooted out, but which sect has existed under some modifications down to the present day.

There were Muláḥidah schismatics in these parts at an early period *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 74, and note 3, page 304.

Some people, unacquainted with the different sects of schismatics, style all Shí'ahs, whereas some were enemies of 'Alí and his followers. It is a curious circumstance with repect to this Sayyid descent, but a fact, nevertheless, that the Kaṛlární Afgháns were the chief followers of Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík (*see* page 46 of these Notes), and his descendants, and that they still continue, more or less secretly, to follow their founder's doctrine to this day; and among them are most of the Afgháns of the Bangas'hát, who are called "*Shíás*" by English writers.

It is also a curious fact that Pír-i-Ros'hán himself, who was not a Aor-Maṛ Afghán, however, but of an Anṣárí family claiming to be of Ḳuraish descent, according to the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, his contemporary, came from Kární-Grám, where his family dwelt among the Aor-Maṛ Afgháns.

man, with a numerous family to provide for, Zakaríyá gave up the infant to his kinsman, 'Abd-ullah, who had no children, and took in exchange the iron cooking vessel, as previously related. When Kaṛlárnaey grew up, his adopted father obtained for him a daughter out of the Aor-Maṛ family; and, possibly, at this time, Aor-Maṛ himself was still alive.

The title "Sayyid" signifies "prince" and "lord," and is given to the descendants of the prophet Muḥammad, through 'Alí and the prophet's daughter, Fátimah; consequently, according to the tradition, the Shítak tribe are not wrong in stating that their ancestor, Kaṛlárnaey, was "the son of a prince," neither are the Khogíánís wrong in asserting that he was the son (adopted) of 'Abd-ullah, the Aor-Maṛ, all of which statements Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, wonders* at, and considers that it is quite evident therefrom "that *Kar-an*," as he styles Kaṛlárn or Kaṛlárnaey, "was not "of the lineage of Ḳais 'Abd-ur-Rashid, or, in other words, of the Afghán race." No one among the Afgháns has yet asserted that he was, but, as he had married an Afghán wife, and his descendants have done the same ever since, they have been accounted Afgháns by their Afghán kinsmen. The Khaṭaks alone have confused Honaey, the son of Sayyid Muḥammad, with the son of Sayyid Ḳáb of the Dilazáks.

Some short time after this, a Sayyid, a pious Darwesh, came among them, and took up his residence near the dwelling places of the family of Sherán or Sheránaey, the father's brother of Aor-Maṛ; the family of Kákaṛ, son of Dánaey, son of Gharghusht, son of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd; and the family of Kaṛlárnaey. He became their spiritual guide, and, in order to induce him to settle among them for good, each of the three families, or tribes as they now began to call themselves, gave him a daughter out of their tribe in marriage, but it does not follow, of course, for such is not possible, that either of the damsels were the very daughters of the progenitors of those tribes, but daughters *out* of the tribes, that is belonging to them.

By the Kaṛlární wife, this pious Darwesh, Sayyid Muḥammad, had two sons, Honaey and Waṛdag, who are the progenitors of the tribes called after them, and will be subsequently referred to.

Kaṛlárnaey, by his Aor-Maṛ wife, had two sons, Kodaey and Kakaey, but the Sulímání, before referred to, in his account of the Afgháns, distinctly states that he had another son, named Sulímán, whom all other writers make out to be Kaṛlárnaey's grandson, the son of his son, Kakaey. This statement of the Sulímání is worthy of credence, because there is a considerable discrepancy respecting the number of Kakaey's sons, which I shall presently notice again.

Kodaey, however, was the father of six sons, according to the Sulímání, and of seven sons according to others. By one wife he had Uṭmán, Dilazák, and Wurak; and, by another wife, Mánaey, Luḳmán, *alias* Khaṭak, Khogaey, and Mangalaey, which last the Sulímání does not account a son of Kakaey.† Honaey and Waṛdag, sons of their sister, were adopted by Kaṛlárnaey, and therefore are named along with Kodaey's sons.

Khush-ḥál Khán, Khaṭak, differs from the other writers, for he says that Wurak, and Burhán, from whom the Dilazáks descend, are the sons of Kodaey; and that Luḳmán, *alias* Khaṭak, Utmán, 'Uṣmán, and Jzadrárn, are descended *from one or another* of the sons of Kakaey—a very loose way of stating it—that Utmán and Uṣmán were by one mother, Luḳmán by another, and that Jzadrárn was their father's

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* Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, appears to have confounded the Shaikh, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, of Amír Tímúr's day with the Sayyid, Muḥammad-i-Gísú-Daráz.

There seems to be some ground for supposing that Khiẓr Khán, the first of the Sayyid dynasty of the Dihlí kingdom, who paid allegiance to Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, and his son, Mírzá Sháh Rukh, was an Afghán of Sayyid descent.

The historian, Kháfí Khán, who, like a good many others, cannot imagine how an Afghán can be a Sayyid-Zádah, nevertheless confirms in a measure this assertion, that Khiẓr Khán was himself a Sayyid-Zádah and an Afghán. He says, under the events of the year 1051 H (1641–42 A.D.), that, from the time of Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, the Shansabání Tájzík ruler of Ghaznín, and subsequently of Ghúr likewise, "during which time several thousand (*sic*, in MSS.) Bádsháhs have coined money in their own names, "and have had the khuṭbah read for them within different parts of the twenty-two provinces constituting the "empire of Hindústán, if history be carefully studied, it will be found that no person of real Sayyid "descent has ever reigned within it. Notwithstanding that two daughters of Sháh (*i.e.*, Sayyid) Nawáz "Khán, the Ṣafawí, were married to Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír, and his brother, Muḥammad-i-Murád-Bakhsh, "respectively, and had sons by them, such as 'Áẓam Sháh and Akbar Sháh; and that, in the same way, "daughters of other Sayyids married into the Tímúríah family, and from them came descendants, yet *not one* "*among them* became ruler of Hindústán. The only exception with regard to persons of Sayyid descent "among the rulers of Dihlí is Khiẓr Khán, and Malik Dá'úd, the Kaṛlární, ruler of Bangálah, who was of the "Afghán nation." Unfortunately, the writer does not say what tribe of Kaṛlárnís he belonged to.

† Mangalaey is the progenitor of the Mangalí tribe, which contains the three subdivisions of Mughbal, Jzadrárn or Jzandrán, and Bahádurzí. *See* page 78.

brother's son. All the other authorities I have quoted, with the exception of the Sulímání, who leaves him out from the number, say, that Jzadrárn is one of the sons of Mangalaey.

The Makhzan-i-Afghání, and the Mir'át-ul-Afághinah, say, that Kodaey had seven sons, namely, Músá, Mangalaey, Dilazák, and Wurak, by one mother; and Wato, Honaey, and Waṛdag, by another; but, as before stated, the two last are his sister's sons adopted by him.

The account given by Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, is of course similar to the Makhzan, which he copies from, the only difference being that for Wato, progenitor of the Watozí, he has Túzí, the syllable "*wa*" having been left out.

The Khulásat-ul-Ansáb also says that Kodaey had seven sons, Utmán, Dilazák, and Wurak, by one mother; Mánaey (father of 'Uṣmán, *alias* Afrídaey), Lukmán, *alias* Khaṭak, Mangalaey, and Khogíánaey, by another, and adds, that, by some accounts, the latter is the son of Kakaey. This may be correct, and he may have been adopted by Kodaey; and, for this reason, probably, the Sulímání did not account him among Kodaey's sons.

The Sulímání says that Kakaey, second son of Kaṛlárnaey, had two sons, Sulímán and Sharaf-ud-Dín, or, as the Afgháns style him, Shítak; and in this the Makhzan-i-Afghání, Mir'át-ul-Afághinah, and Khulásat-ul-Anṣáb agree. Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, here appears not to have copied the first work quite correctly, and, consequently, falls into utter confusion. He says that "Kakkai," as he calls him, had *four* sons, Burhán (who, Khush-ḥál says, was Kodaey's son); Khogíánaey (who, all say, was Kodaey's son); Sulímán; and Shítak; thus giving Kakaey two of Kodaey's sons. Then he makes out Utmán, Lukmán, *alias* Khaṭak (who, all agree, are Kodaey's sons), and Jzadrárn (who was one of Mangalaey's sons), to be *all* sons of Burhán, who, he says, was "Kakkai's" son, thus making them brothers of 'Uṣmán, *alias* Afrídaey, Khaṭak and Jzadrárn, while Khush-ḥál Khán says he (Burhán) was Kodaey's son, and the progenitor of the Dilazáks and Wurakzís.

For convenience I will name Shítak's sons first. They are styled Bannútsís from the tract they inhabit,* namely, Gíwaey, the progenitor of the Gíwí (mentioned by Bábar in his raid on Bannú)†, Ado, the progenitor of the Ado-zí, or Ado Khel, Dawaṛ, whose name, as being the dwelling place of that section of the Shítaks, has passed to the territory they inhabit, which is described in a previous Section of these Notes,‡ Malakhaey [Malachi], and Surránaey,§ or Súrránaey.

Sulímán, son of Kakaey, son of Kaṛlárnaey, had three sons, Wazír, Bá'í, and Malik Mír. The first mentioned is the progenitor of the Wazírís, who became a numerous race, and a separate branch, and independent tribe, some centuries ago. From the two latter spring the Bá'ízís and Malik-Mírís, the subdivisions of which two tribes are known as the "Akwám-i-Bangas'h," that is, the "clans inhabiting the territory "called Bangas'h;" for, as I have before stated, there is no tribe or section of a tribe, and never was, called Bangas'h.||

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* In his article on the "Banúchís," MacGregor tells us that they are "a mongrel tribe who inhabit the "subdivision of Banú in the district of the same name. They are descended from one Sháh Afrid, son "of Kakai, of the Karáni branch of the Afgháns, ... whose descendants were called Banúzai or "Banúchís by Hindús." The current account is given above. Such a person as "one Sháh Afrid" is unknown to them. *See* also note *, page 382, on Mr. Bellew's "Turklánrí people," or "Turk brotherhood."

† *See* page 360.

‡ Page 86.

§ Most of the names occurring in Routes Third, Fourth, and Fifth, to Eighth, from pages 74 to 81, and 85 to 94, such as Paráyá—not *Parba*, as in Hai'át Khán's book—Dirmán, Akobí, Khirmaná, Bakr Khel, Mando Khel, Babbal Khel, Mo-ton, Sibrí—not *Sabri*—Malakh, Drap Khel or Drapzí, Landar, Namará—not *Mamuri*—Paras Khel, etc., etc., are *all* names of sections or clans of the different Kaṛlárni tribes, for, with few exceptions, towards the western boundary of Upper Bangas'h, the Bangas'h territory *is exclusively held* by Kaṛlárnís. The whole of those I have named, with the exception of the Afrídís, Wurakzís, Dilazáks, Khaṭaks, and Utmán Khel, and the Kaṛlárnís of Koháṭ, dwell in Upper Bangas'h to this day, namely, the descendants of Mangalaey and Khogaey, sons of Kodaey, and of Sulímán and Shítak, sons of Kakaey. At one period all Khost was inhabited by the Khogíání. *See* note ||, page 425.

|| Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, gives a description of a tribe which he calls "*the Bangash tribe*," and imagines them to be a totally different people from the other Kaṛlární Afgháns, (whom he invariably miscalls "Karránís"), because they claim "*Arab descent.*" He does not realize the fact that, if the Kaṛlárnís are descended from a Sayyid progenitor, as all authorities, with the exceptions I have previously named, affirm, then, as a matter of course, they are *all* of 'Arab descent, not his "Bangash tribe" only. He does not refer in his book to any descendants of Sulímán but the Wazírí tribe; and *does not even mention the names* of the Malik-Mírís or the Kághzís, notwithstanding that the river of Koháṭ is called the Kághzí river after the latter, or that they constitute two tribes of Lower Bangas'h; and he makes a very weak attempt to show the origin of the name he gives to them, which is not their name but that of the country they inhabit.

The author of these surveys observes respecting them in these words :—

"The descendants of Malik Mír, on the side of his male offspring, are known as the Malik-Mírís, and also as the Míránzís, while the descendants on the side of his daughter, Kákha'h or Kágha'h, or Kakha'í or Kágha'í, for it is written either way, who, from the fact of her husband's name not being mentioned, was either his superior or else he was of no account or importance, are known as the Kákhzí or Kághzí.* These two branches contain several ramifications. Those branches at present dwelling in Lower Bangas'h, of which Kohát is the chief town, are the Bá'ízí, in which the chieftain-ship now lies;† the Shámilzí, from which came the Nawwáb, Muhammad Khán,‡ and others, the *Hákims* or rulers of Farrukh-ábád in Hindústán; and from among these three sub-tribes the *Sar-dár* or *Ra'ís* of each is selected with the accord and assent of the people; and they pay allegiance to the present Sar-dár, Nawwáb Khán, who resides at Kohát, presently to be referred to. These three sub-tribes contain several branches, namely, the Bá'ízí, to whom belong the Mardo Khel, Ázú Khel, Lodí Khel, and Sháhú Khel; the Shámilzí branch, to whom belong the Landí, Hasan Khel, Músá Khel, and the 'Ísá Khel; and to the Míránzí or Malik-Mírí, the Hasanzí, Badah Khel, Khákhá Khel, and 'Umar Khel. These again have their subdivisions or clans, some of which, giving names to villages, have been previously mentioned in the different Routes. They amount altogether to between 10,000 and 12,000 families."§

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* "Jumping to conclusions from mere names," as Mr. Bellew says, "is not a safe course," but the most far-fetched attempt to derive the name of a tribe or clan is contained in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society "of Bengal," Vol. 49, for 1880, page 94, where we are informed that "the Kághzai" are descended from the daughter of Kágh, the minstrel (mentioned in the account of the Matís), and likewise "*the Bangash*" (for the writer evidently did not know that the Kághzí is one of the Bangas'h tribes), "*and the Sarwáni* Pathāns." I need scarcely add that the Kághzís of Lower Bangas'h are in no way connected with either Kágh the minstrel or his daughter, while the Sarwání Kághzís are, but between these and the Karlární Kághzís or Kákhzís there is no connection whatever. An account of their descent will be found in the next Section.

† When Afzal Khán, Khatak, finished his history, the chieftain-ship over the Lower Bangas'h Karlárnís was still held, as previously, by the Malik-Mírís, but, subsequently, the Bá'ízís got it. I shall refer to this farther on.

‡ This renowned chieftain, who founded Farrukh-ábád, and the Farrukh-ábád branch of the Bangas'h Karlárnís of Hindústán, was one of the most powerful and esteemed leaders of whom Hindústán can boast, and the record of his feats and warlike actions would fill a substantial volume. He first entered the service of the Dihlí Bádsháhs after the defeat at Khwájah in the Fath-púr district, about twenty miles north of the latter place, of Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Jahán-dár Sháh, son of the Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, mentioned farther on, and attached himself to the service of Farrukh-Siyar Bádsháh, after whom he named the town. Farrukh-ábád is styled by one historian "the Afghánistán of Hindústán."

He founded other places besides Farrukh-ábád, and settled a colony of his Karlární kinsmen and clan at the former place. He first received the title of Nawwáb; and, in Muharram, 1113 H. (November, 1720 A.D.), for his great services, received from Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh the title of Ghazanfar-i-Jang, that is, the Lion or Hero of Battle. He died full of years and honours in Shawwál, 1156 H. (December, 1743 A.D.), in his 81st year. The last of the Farrukh-ábád Nawwábs, Tafazzul Husain, by name (who was not "the old Nawáb," for he was only born in 1827, neither did he "expiate his treachery on the scaffold," for his conduct during the rebellion in India in 1857), was exiled to Makkah, for his misdeeds during that time, in 1859. He was a great-grandson of the Nawwáb, the Ghazanfar-i-Jang. I saw him on his way to Makkah.

Mr. W. Irvine, of the Bengal Civil Service, of Fath-garh, has translated some native works containing a history of the Nawwábs of Farrukh-ábád, which was published in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" in 1878. He makes, however, sad havoc, at times, among the Afghán and other proper names, and always turns Malik into *Malak*, which means "an angel;" and is led astray by Hai'át Khán's book, the "Haiyat-i-Afgháni," with respect to the Kághzí section of the Bangas'h Karlárnís, and other historical matter. *See* preceding note *.

§ The territory of Bangas'h is repeatedly referred to in Bábar's Tuzúk, in the histories of Humáyún Bádsháh's campaigns, and in the time of Akbar Bádsháh. It formed one of the *tománs* or districts of the Kábul *Sarkar*, and Kohát formed another—one was styled Upper and the other Lower Bangas'h. Unfortunately, the names of *all* the different Afghán tribes are not mentioned. For example, Abú-l-Fazl says that the inhabitants of the Kohát *tomán* are "Wurakzí *and others*," but, in another place, he mentions the Sháhú Khel as dwelling in the Baghzan *tomán*, and also the Wardag in the Bangas'h *tomán*, at which time they were assessed as being able to muster 500 horsemen and 2,500 foot for militia purposes, while the Khataks are rated at 200 horsemen and 4,000 foot, and the Afrídís at 500 horse and 2,500 foot, but in one or two copies of the Á'ín it is 10,000, and the Wurakzís at 5,500 foot. Kohát *tomán* is, at times, called Kohát *of* Bangas'h. *See* also page 74.

Notwithstanding these facts, and with the work of Bábar, the histories of Humáyún Bádsháh, and the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, under their very noses, so to say, after people had asserted that there is a tribe called Bangas'h, contrary to the statements of Afghán and other Muhammadan writers, it was necessary to provide a derivation for the name. Consequently, Hai'át Khán, Kathar, says, "the warlike and courageous Bangash relate"—or rather, Hai'át relates for them—"that their ancestor, Ismá'íl, who lived in Gardaiz, was the tenth in descent from "'Abd-ullah, son of Khálid, son of Walíd; and that the word 'Bangash' is a corruption of *Bunkash*, a name "*applied to Ismá'íl's two sons*, Gara and Samal, on account of the bitter enmity they bore each other;" but, quite forgetting this statement, apparently, on the very next page he gives a tree of their descent, headed, "'Ismá'íl, *who is known as Bangash*." It will be perceived that all this about their ancestor merely refers to the Sayyid, Ismá'íl, son of Ja'far, mentioned in the tradition I have quoted several versions of, but that a purely Tájzík or Íráni compound, like *bun kash*, ever became corrupted into Ban-gas'h or Ban-gak'h will scarcely be credited, more particularly too, seeing that Bangas'h was the name of a territory, and not a tribe, on undoubted authority, such as I have named.

"Gara" and "Samal," names applied by some recent writer to the Bangas'h Karlárnís, are merely distorted

From the time of the annexation of the Panj-áb and its dependencies in 1849, it was, and is still, supposed, that the tract of country held by a portion of this branch of the Karlární Afgháns of Bangas'h was properly called "Míranzái," and was not a part of Bangas'h, instead of its being, from early times, an integral part of the province known as Bangas'h-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Bangas'h. The name applied to it by the Panj-áb authorities is merely the name of the tribe, but that name could only be correctly applied to it, as applied by the natives themselves, as "the tract of country *held by*, or *inhabited by*," the Malik-Mírí Karlárnís of Bangas'h. It is also instructive to note, that all the authorities, and also "the masters of the subject," never once mention this tribe as called collectively the Malik-Mírí or Míránzí; and that they *invariably invert matters*, by calling all three of these Karlární Afghán *tribes*, namely, Malik-Mírí, Bá'ízí, and Kághzí, "*the Bangash tribe*," Bangas'h being the name of the country only, while they style a portion of the country "Míranzái," whereas Míránzí is the name of one of its tribes.

I have been obliged to enter into much greater detail than I intended, in these pages, respecting the Níází tribe and Karlárnís generally, but especially of the Khaṭaks and Shítaks, in order to correct the erroneous accounts which have been given respecting them; and, as there appear to be very strange ideas entertained regarding the Karlárnís of Lower Bangas'h, it will also be well to give some extracts from the writings of the Khaṭak Karlární historians, Khush-hál Khán, and Muhammad Afẓal Khán, who had intimate connexions with them, and who are the only writers who enter into any detail respecting them. Their accounts likewise illustrate the geography of these parts, and furnish accounts of several routes and defiles that we know but little about.

The first historical mention that we have respecting the Afghán tribes who have dwelt in the territory called Bangas'h, divided into Higher and Lower, is contained in the Tuzúk of Bábar Bádsháh, and the chronicle of Báyazíd Beg, the Byát. Previous to the time of Bábar's acquisition of the Kábul province,* and even up to the time of his first raid in the direction of the Indus, the Dilazák Karlární Afgháns held the eastern parts of Nangnahár, Tí-ráh, the whole of the Pas'háur district south of the river of Kábul, as far as the banks of the Indus, extending from Jam-rúd to Atak, and southwards as far as the mountains bounding the present Pes'háwar district on the south, known to us as the Afrídí hills, while to the north of the river of Kábul they possessed all the country between the 'Ash-Naghar district and the Indus from west to east, and to the mountains bounding Suwát and Buner, on the north.

I have previously alluded to the great movement of Afghán tribes to the eastward at page 35; and other tribes, and sections of tribes, about the same time, had been moving eastwards likewise, one great cause of their doing so being the advent of an Afghán sovereign over the Dihlí kingdom, and Afghán governors in its western provinces.

The Bangas'h provinces, both Upper and Lower, had long been under the control of the Turk and Mughal rulers of the Ghazníwí empire, as the chief and most practicable routes between Ghaznín, Kábul, and India, and those followed by the sovereigns and commanders of those times, lay through them; and hence the Bangas'hát, as the two are generally styled, were better known. Nevertheless, up to the time of Akbar Bádsháh, we never find the name of Khaṭaks mentioned; and the Afrídís and Wurakzís are barely referred to by Bábar and Humáyún, but we constantly hear of Afgháns *of*

Gharab and Sama'h, signifying mountain and plain, or highland and lowland, which terms are applied to Upper and Lower Bangas'h respectively, and which, in time, became the name of two factions. The author of the history of the Farrukh-ábád Nawwábs says that Bangas'h signifies hill-country or highlands.

It is amusing, however, to notice how one statement becomes distorted by repetition. Captain T. C. Plowden, B. S. C., in his translation referred to in note ‡, page 376, says, that "*Khurram*," as he writes Kurma'h, "was *their ancient seat* [Haí'át says Gardaiz]," and that "they are a tribe *of Arab, not Afghán* "*origin*." Here again the 'Arab descent of their progenitor, Karlárnaey, is referred to. In the 1st Vol. of "Central Asia," page 165, MacGregor says that the name of this tribe "is derived from 'ban' [but *bun*, not "*ban*, means root], a root, and 'kashtan,' to tear up, meaning that the Bankash were such thorough-going "Radicals that they exterminated, or tore up by the roots, all who interfered with their interests, or possessed "what they coveted."

In his book, entitled "A Political Mission to Afghanistan," before referred to, Mr. Bellew says (page 57), "The principal of these tribes, who, though *Pukhtun* in common with the whole nation, are nevertheless, not "Afghán [and yet, in his 'Pukshto Dictionary,' Pukkhtún is said to signify '*An Afghán, a Pathán*'], are the "*Afrídí, Bangash*," etc. In his latest book he gives their picture the final touches. At page 77 he writes, "respecting the origin of the *Afrídí*, Arakzái [Wurakzí are referred to], and *Bangash*, *very little is known*, "though they are perhaps of *Sythic* descent." *See* the previous note *, page 382, and note *, page 35.

* History sufficiently shows that previous to the time of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, there were no Afgháns of any tribe whatever settled in the Pes'háwar district, or north of it. The Dilazáks were the first who did so, Herodotus notwithstanding.

Bangas'h. Bábar mentions that those parts around, namely, Bannú, Bázár, and Ṭák, were peopled by the Afghán tribes or *ulúsís* of Karání, that is Karlární, namely, Gíwí [a section or sub-tribe of the Shítaks, descended from Gíwaey, Shítak's son], Súr, 'Ísá Khel, and Níází, at which time the Gíwí dwelt in the northern part of Bannú.

Respecting his raid from Jám-rúd* into those parts, noticed at page 360, he says that, "after reaching the Bagrám (Pas'háur) district, it was considered what route "should be taken with the view of crossing the Sind or Indus;" and that "Báķí, the "Chaghnání, stated that there was no necessity for so doing, as there was a populous "place only two days' journey from where they then were, called Kohat [Koháṭ], the "people of which were rich in cattle, flocks, and other property. Some Kábulís "brought forward also confirmed this. I had never heard of this place before;† so "we marched from the Jám Rúd [the Jám river], and, having crossed the river of "Báṛa'h, we encamped near the Muḥammadí *Faj* or Pass, and Abání, where, at that "time, there were Gagyání Afgháns." Next day Koháṭ was assailed and plundered, and a number of the Afgháns made captive, but were again set at liberty.

It was shortly after this that the Dilazáks were driven out of their territory north of the river of Kábul by the Khas'hís, as related at page 221; and a few years after that again, they were deprived of the whole of the remainder, lying south of that river, by the Ghwaríah Khel, the supporters of Mírzá Kámrán, Bábar's son. Even when Humáyún Bádsháh moved from Kábul to punish them and others for sheltering his rebellious brother, after his defeat described at page 55, in which Mírzá Hindál was killed, when his, the Bádsháh's, forces reached Baghzan from Logar by the Gardaiz *Kotal*, the 'Abd-ur-Raḥmání, Barmazídí, Wardag, and Búbú Khel Afgháns, moved away towards Buland Khel, where an encounter took place with them, and near Darsamand likewise.

These are some of the names of Karlární tribes and clans, the Buland Khel and Darsamand being names of sections among the Míránzí, after whom, as in numerous other instances, their villages are named.‡

The Karlární Afgháns, generally, were disciples of Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, particularly those of Bangas'h, who, even up to the present day, either openly or secretly, still follow his doctrines, a little modified, probably; hence English writers and compilers, unacquainted with the facts, and the difference between the two doctrines, style them "*Shías*," but the Shí'as regard them as heretics, though they are not so bitter against them as the Súnís are. They may be styled Ismá'ílís or Mulḥáhidah; for, in many respects, the tenets and proceedings of Báyazíd, the Anṣárí, have a manifest analogy to those of Hasan-i-Sabbáh, the Mulḥid;§ and Ághá Khán, the Persian prince, who lately died at Bombay, was looked upon, in his lifetime, as their head. The tenets of the Ros'hánís or Táríkís I have elsewhere explained. This attachment to that heresy brought vast misery upon many Afghán tribes, but on the Karlárnís chiefly, and on the tribes of that division of the Afghán nation inhabiting Bangas'h more particularly; for the Mughal government had constantly to organize expeditions against the heretics in their attempts to crush them, the scene of which expeditions extended over a great area—from Kábul to Aṭak, and from Ghaznín to the borders of Chitrál, but the centre was Tí-ráh and Upper Bangas'h, which were the chief strongholds of these schismatics.

It was many years after Bábar Bádsháh acquired possession of Kábul, and when the whole of the territories of Khurásán, the countries on the Oxus, the provinces of Kábul and Kandahár, the Panj-áb, and the Dihlí kingdom, were all, more or less, in a state of confusion, that the Khaṭaks, having separated from their kinsmen, the Shítak Karlárnís, began to move towards the north-east in search of a better dwelling place; and they proceeded towards the Lowá-Ghaṛ range, Karboghah, Ṭíraey, into Tsautara'h, to Iláchí, or Láchí as it is also called, and the Shakar Dara'h, in the

* Jam-rúd of the present time.

† He mentions the *Tomán* of Bangas'h in his Tuzúk, and says that other important matters had prevented him from bringing it under his sway, and that it paid revenue to no one. Koháṭ is not mentioned.

MacGregor, referring to "the Bangas'h tribe," says in his "Central Asia," Vol. I., page 166, that the "Emperor *Bábár* (1504) enumerates *this tribe* as inhabiting one of the 14 provinces then dependent on *Kábal* "[Kábul ?], so that their settlement is of very ancient date."

I cannot agree with him as to the enumeration of "*this* tribe." I have examined several MSS. of Bábar Bádsháh's work in the original, and the following are his words:—"Another *tomán* (province) is Bangas'h;" and this, with the exception of the remarks in the first paragraph of this note, is all he says about it. He makes *no mention of any tribe styled Bangas'h.*

‡ That is to say, what we call Buland Khel is merely "the village inhabited *by* the Buland Khel;" and "Darsamand," in the same manner, means "the village peopled *by* the Darsamand clan."

§ *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaķát-i-Náṣirí," page 1187, and note ‡, page 384.

direction of the Indus.* At this time Lower Bangas'h or Koháṭ, as far east as the Resa'í Ferry on the Indus, was in the possession of the Wurakzí tribe of Kaṛlárnís.

About the same time, this, the Wurakzí, territory was invaded by the Kaṛlárnís, hitherto dwelling in Upper or Higher Bangas'h, or Kurma'h,† namely, the Bá'ízís, Malik-Mírís, and Kághzís—the Wazírs, or Wazírís, the remaining tribe of the four, descended from Sulímán, son of Kakaey, son of Kaṛlárnaey, having become very numerous, had separated from the other branches, and become an independent tribe, some time previously—who, from some cause or other, were forced eastwards like other Afghán tribes. Some of those Bangas'h Kaṛlárnís still dwell in Kurma'h, but almost in a state of vassalage to the Túrís, the descendants of Túr, or Túraey, who was one of the two adopted sons of Khogaey, son of Kodaey, son of Kaṛlárnaey, Dzádzaey being the other. The descendants of both are included among the Kaṛlární tribes of Upper Bangas'h, but, as previously mentioned, the Túrís and Dzádzís are supposed to be of Turkish descent; and they have been settled, as history shows, where they now dwell, nearly seven centuries.‡

At this time that the Bá'ízís, Malik-Mírís, and Kághzís, moved towards the territory of Koháṭ or Lower Bangas'h, the Khaṭaks were at feud with the Wurakzí tribe [whose lands they coveted ?]; and they joined the former against them. Two battles, which decided the fate of the territory, and secured its eastern, or lowland parts, to the confederates, are said to have taken place respectively at Ṭápí and Muḥammadzí (villages bearing names of clans of the Bá'ízís, near the town of Koháṭ); and the Wurakzís began to retire westwards into Tí-ráh, and the mountain fastnesses adjoining it on the north and west, where they still continue to dwell,§ while the Khaṭaks pushed farther eastwards towards Níl-áb, Paṭí-yála'h, and Súniálah on the Indus.

That these events did not take place as early as has been supposed, and that they took place gradually, is proved from the fact, that, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, under the *Tomán* of Bangas'h, of the *Sarkár* of Kábul, and *Ṣúbah* of Kábul, the Wurakzís, or Úrakzís,|| as they are sometimes called, are rated as being able to furnish 500 horsemen, and 5,500 footmen, for militia purposes. In another place they are assessed, *in the Kohát district*, as paying 701,620 *dáms* of revenue; and no other tribes or clans are mentioned.¶ The Khaṭaks and Afrídís are, however, included with them and other tribes *in the Bangas'h Tomán*,** the former being assessed at 200 horsemen, and 4,000 footmen, and the latter at 500 horsemen, and 10,000 foot.

At this time likewise, Dawaṛ, Bannú, and 'Ísá Khel, are set down as including one *Sarkár* of the *Ṣúbah* of Kábul; and all that is said respecting it is that its inhabitants are *all* Afgháns,†† consisting chiefly of Sorrání, Kaṛání, that is, Kaṛlární, and

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* It is a curious fact, and proves what I have mentioned respecting the movements of the Kaṛlární tribes, that, among all the various tribes mentioned as being allies of the Khas'hís and the Gharís or Ghwaríah Khel at the battle at Shaikh Tapúr, mentioned at page 227, the only Kaṛlární tribe noticed, as being in the neighbouring parts, is the Khaṭaks. The Shinwárís and Zá Khel are noticed among the allies of the Ghwaríah Khel, while the Khaṭaks are said, subsequently, to have sometimes joined Khán Kajú when he mustered all his dependants; but they were not engaged in that battle.

† Turned into "Kúram," "Khurram," "Khooroom," and "Kurram," in our maps and gazetteers. *See* also note †, page 354.

‡ *See* page 82. *See* also note *, page 394, where the author of the "Bádsháh Námah," in referring to the different tribes which joined in the attack on Pes'háwar, styles Afghán tribes "*ulus*," but the Dzádzís and Túrís he styles "*í-máḳs*." Both are Turkish words, but, while *ulus* has been commonly used for Afghán tribes, *í-máḳ* is never used except for tribes of Turk descent. The distinction made is certainly curious in connection with the tradition of their Turkish extraction.

§ Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, asserts that "the Bangash, about 500 years since, pouring down into "Kurram, Pewar, and Shaluzan, took possession of the country south of the Koh-i-Sufed," and that "about "100 years after this [all his dates are in round numbers of hundreds] began their struggle with the Orakzai," but these statements are purely imaginary; for not a shadow of proof exists to confirm them, not even in "the histories of Afghanistan, all of which relate" this, that, and the other, which histories he often mentions, but of which, for good reason, he could not probably furnish a single name or title.

|| But not "Orakzái."

¶ Consequently, "the Bangashes," who "are a tribe of *Arab*, not Afghán origin," according to Captain T. C. Plowden, B.S.C. (who, like others, makes 'Arabs of *these* Kaṛlárnís, but not of the rest of them descended from the same progenitor), could not have held the Koháṭ district before 1500 A.D., which is equivalent to 906 H.; for we may take the official Gazetteer of the Mughal empire to be a tolerably trustworthy authority. *See* page 358, and note †.

** It will be noticed that, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, all other districts to the west are, like Bangas'h, called *tománs*, after the Turkish fashion.

†† The exact words in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí are:—"It is chiefly peopled by the Afgháns—the author makes no "difference between Afgháns and Paṭáns for good reason—and is the dwelling place of the Kaṛlání, Sorrání, "and Wazír."

In some copies of the text, the scribes being in doubt, wrote "Shirání," Surání, and Shirání in the two last instances, possibly, because the name was more familiar to them. The name of the Kaṛlární tribe is written سوراني, but the name of the Sharkabún tribe of Sherání is written شيراني. The similarity of the two names caused the mistake. *See* page 386.

Wazírí, showing that the latter had separated from the parent stock previous to that time. The number of men these Afgháns were able to furnish is not given, neither is any amount of revenue mentioned, thus showing that little was known about them, that they were quite independent, and that the so-called "*Sarkár*" was a province but in name, like the so-called "*Sarkár*" of Suwád or Suwát at the same period.

It was only during the time of Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, that the former inhabitants of Tí-ráh, who are known as Tí-ráhís, and appear to have been a Tájzík race,* were expelled from thence by him and his disciples. The Tí-ráhís were suspected of backsliding from the Ros'hánián tenets, and of being, at heart, inclined towards the Mughals, which was correct; for they had been playing double, and intriguing with them. This was before the Pír-i-Tárík's own overthrow at Baro by Muḥsin Khán, related at page 48. After having induced 300 odd Tí-ráhís to present themselves before him with their hands bound, that they might receive "absolution "for their backsliding," they were separately put to death in such wise that not one knew the fate of the others. The remnant of them fled into Nangnahár, where they took up their residence. On this, the Afrídís and Wurakzís *first occupied Tí-ráh.* There were some Utmán Khel Karlárnís there at the time, dwelling about Tsat, who, being weak, and a feud arising between them and the Afrídís, vacated Tí-ráh, and went into Aṛhang Baṛhang, on the road to Bájawṛ, where great part of their tribe were already settled.†

After these events happened, the battle took place between the Ros'hánís, *alias* Táríkís, and the Daulatzí Wurakzís, and the Mughals, at the Lo-e Sang-Pájzah Ghás'haey, or Great Sang-Pájzah Pass, the date of which, unfortunately, is not given by Khush-ḥál, but it was during the *time* that the great Mahábat Khán was Şúbah-dár of the province of Kábul, and when Khush-ḥál Khán was in his eighth year.‡ As he was born in 1022 H. (1613 A.D.), this would bring us to the beginning of the seventh year of Jahán-gír Bádsháh's reign; and it must have been fought some time towards the close of 1029 H. (1619 A.D.), or early in 1030 H. (1620 A.D.), because the Ikbál Námah-i-Jahán-gírí, and other histories of that reign, inform us, that, when the Bádsháh was on his way to Kash-mír in the latter part of 1029 H.,§ as Mahábat Khán, for a considerable period, had not been at Court, command was issued to him, that, if he was so satisfied with the state of that mountainous part that he could with safety leave it for a time, to come unincumbered and slightly attended; and, the day before Jahán-gír Bádsháh reached the fortress of Ruhtás, he arrived. A few days after he returned to his post, and it was soon after this, I believe, that the disaster happened.

Khush-ḥál Khán says, that the great Mahábat Khán, at the instigation of some Ghwaríah Khels and Bangas'h Karlárnís, cut off some 300 Daulatzí Wurakzís,¶ including two sons of Malik Asghar, the Daulatzí chief, after feasting them, and getting them to give up their arms, under pretence of conferring honorary dresses upon them. The plea was, that, by doing so, the strength of Iḥdád, the Ros'hání,**

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* They had a language of their own, and were, doubtless, of Tájzík descent. *See* note §, page 380.

† Mr. Bellew (in his book previously referred to, page 71) considers it a remarkable circumstance in the history of the march of the two Afghán tribes ("Yúsufzai and Mandar") that they traversed the "Khybar "Pass without coming into collision with its Afrídí possessors." The reason is clear enough from the facts above stated. The Afrídís were not located near the Khaibar Pass at that time, nor for nearly a century later; and the period at which they did take possession of Tí-ráh is well authenticated.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, in his "Tazkirat," referring to the people of Nangnahár, says, that they remained unmolested in their country "until they became tainted with the heretical doctrines of the Táríkís, and "suffered dire calamities in consequence, like as the people of Tí-ráh suffered through the Pír-i-Tárík "and his doctrines, *who were carried away into captivity, and their country fell into the possession of the* "*Afrídís.*"

The facts related above by Khush-ḥál Khán, and the extracts from the contemporary writers given in these "Notes," fix the date of Afrídí occupation of Tí-ráh. *See* page 223.

‡ Sháh Beg, the Khán-i-Daurán—that is, "The Khán of the Age," but "Khan Dauran," or "Khán Dúrán," is meaningless—had, upon several occasions, applied to be relieved of the government of the province of Kábul, on account of his age and increasing infirmities, which rendered him unable to endure the fatigues of horseback, and the severity of the climate of Kábul. In the year 1026 H. (1616 A.D.), soon after the festival of the No-Roz or Vernal Equinox, the petition of the Khán-i-Daurán was again specially submitted. "At this time," says Jahán-gír Bádsháh, in his Autobiography, "I appointed Mahábat Khán to the "government of Kábul and Bangas'h, and presented him with a dress of honour, a horse, and an elephant." The Khán-i-Daurán was appointed Şúbah-dár of Ṭhaṭhah, probably because he was an Arghún Mughal of the family which had ruled in Sindh. In 1028 H., however, he requested to be permitted to resign active service altogether. The Bádsháh, accordingly, conferred upon him the *parganah* of Khúsh-áb, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, which had been one of his former *jágírs*, and yielded 75,000 rúpís yearly, by way of pension. His sons, likewise, according to their capacities and deserts, were assigned *jágírs* and rank.

§ The year 1029 H. commenced on the 27th November, 1619 A.D., and the Bádsháh set out in the following month of September. He was then in Kash-mír, where he remained some time. *See* note ‡, page 392.

¶ Malik Asghar, after this, gave up the chieftain-ship to his kinsman, Malik Túr, mentioned at page 394.

** He was the son of Shaikh 'Umar, Báyazíd, the Anşárí's eldest son. Jalálah, otherwise Mián Jalál-ud-Dín, was Báyazíd's fifth son.

"The season having come round for the Ṣúbah-dár to proceed to Kábul, he marched thither from Pas'háur, upon which 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir and the Ros'hánís assembled in great numbers, and moved against Pas'háur itself, entered the city, and slew the Deputy of the Ṣúbah-dár. All the Afghán *ulusís* or tribes of the country round Pas'háur now agreed, with one accord, to rise against the Mughals, with the exception of three, namely, the Pas'háur *ḳabíla'hs* (the Khalíls, Mahmands, and Dá'údzís), the Khaṭaks, and the Daulatzí Wurakzís. The Arbábs of the two former, and Sháh-báz Khán, father of Khush-ḥál Khán, who was Arbáb of the Khaṭaks, were with the Mughals at Pas'háur; and Malik Túr and the Daulatzí Wurakzís were at Aṭak [with their contingents].

"The Mughal garrison of Pas'háur had to throw themselves into the citadel; and the place was completely invested. At this time, Sa'íd Khán [son of Aḥmad Beg Khán, the Mughal Tarkhán, and brother of Iftikhár Khán, the same who brought Ihdád's head to the Bádsháh], who was Fowj-dár of Bangas'h, prepared to march [from Kohát] to the relief of the garrison. At first, 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir and his forces undertook the investment alone, but, when the other *ulusís* or tribes assembled to aid him, with the usual stupidity and wrong-headedness of Pus'htúns [*i.e.*, Afgháns], they became jealous of him whom they came to support, thinking that he was taking all the credit to himself. They began to speak in no friendly manner about him; and he, knowing therefrom that they would in all probability intrigue with the Mughals, feared lest they might betray him into their hands. Such being the case, he decamped one night and retired into Tí-ráh again; and the different *ulusís* meditated upon dispersing. Sa'íd Khán, from Kohát, having now arrived upon the scene, and news of the partial dispersion of the investors having become known to the garrison, they issued from the citadel, and, in conjunction with him, attacked the Afgháns that remained, slew a great number, many having been caught within the city unaware of the dispersion of the others, and put them to the rout. In this affair a great number of Yúsufzís and Gagyánís were also killed."*

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generally eschew the '*h*' in Sanskrit letters like '*gh*'—*see* note *, page 196—and call it Shádí Bagyáṛa'í] and the Khaibar; and, through his youth and inexperience, without taking even ordinary precautions on his march.

"Suddenly, the beast-of-prey-like Wurakzís and Afrídís, who are two branches of the many-branched, tumult-raising, Afághinah of this mountainous tract, who, although outwardly obedient servitors, are inwardly rebellious, delight in disorder, and are ever ready to plunder and molest, occupied the road in his front, and began to plunder the baggage of his force. As he left no officer of experience to guard his rear, a deal of property was carried off; and he did nothing to remedy this disorder, nor the loss and damage sustained by his troops and camp followers, and neither halted nor turned back to aid them. On this account, Lashkar Khán was now sent as Ṣúbah-dár; and a force of 15,000 horse, consisting of the troops of the Sayyids of Báṛhah, Bukhárís, Afgháns [of Hind], and Ráj-púts, on different dates, were despatched to serve under him in that province."

The Dábistán gives a few more particulars respecting this affair, and does not attempt to conceal the whole truth. It states that, "After the death of Iḥdád [whose name, by-the-by, is not 'Ahdad'], his son, Karím-"Dád, and his mother, came into Tí-ráh, and Ẓafar [*i.e.*, Muẓaffar] Khán was attacked by him and his "supporters. Ẓafar fled with the utmost precipitation, while all his baggage, with the beauties of his *ḥaram*, "fell into the hands of the Afgháns; and only one of his wives, Buzarg Khánam by name, was preserved from "violation, and that only through the resolute efforts of Sa'íd Khán [the same who behaved so well when "Pes'háwar was invested, mentioned in the text above], son of Aḥmad Beg Khán, the Tarkhán Mughal, and "other warriors."

* There are two sides to this story; and the historians of Sháh-i-Jahán's reign give some of the Khaṭaks credit for being on the rebel side. The "escape" of the Khwaṛama'h Khaṭaks, mentioned in the preceding page, confirms it.

The author of the "Bádsháh Námah" says the Afgháns around Pas'háur broke out, invested that place, occupied the city, and assaulted the citadel. This was done, he says, at the instigation of the Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodí [the author of the Mir'át-ul-Afághinah, previously referred to at page 344], by Kamál-ud-Dín, the son of the Shaikh, Rukn-ud-Dín, Rohelah [*i.e.*, Afghán of Roh], who, in the time of Muḥammad Jahán-gír Bádsháh, was raised to the rank of commander of 4,000 horse, and the title of Sher Khán. Most of the tribes from Aṭak to near Kábul, and other parts, were engaged in this outbreak, and agreed first to attack Pas'háur. Sa'íd Khán, who was stationed at Kohát, hearing of it, leaving part of his force there, the same day threw himself with the remainder into Pas'háur. He was not strong enough to attack the rebels, and had to act on the defensive. The other tribes immediately around Pas'háur also prepared to join the insurgents; and 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, son of Iḥdád, the Táríkí [or Ros'háni], was invited to join them. He came accordingly; and along with him came the blind Karím-Dád, son of Jalálah, and Muḥammad Zamán, son of Pír-Dád, the uncle of Iḥdád, and two brothers. The Afgháns of Dawaṛ, Bannú, Baghzaṇ, and all the hill tracts of Tí-ráh, both the Bangas'h-i-Nai-kash [which compound word means here "pipers"—players on the pipe or reed—the piping or flute-playing Bangas'h—a nickname, from "*nai*," a cane, a reed, or shepherd's pipe, or flute, and "*kash*," from the verb "*kashídan*," to draw out, to extract, etc.=*nai kashídan*, "to play on the pipe or flute." The fondness of the Kohát Kaṛlárnís for music is shown from the plunder captured from them in the defeat they sustained mentioned at page 401], the whole of the Khaṭak *ulus* [the whole of the tribes here mentioned are Kaṛlárnís], and the *í-máḳs* of Dzádzí and Túrí [*see* pages 82 and 390], who assembled at the Yalam Guzr or Ford, seven kuroh from Pas'háur, joined Kamál-ud-Dín. They likewise led astray the Afghán tribes dependent on the Pas'háur province or district by false statements, such as those of 'Ash-naghar, the Muḥammadzís, Gagyánís, Khalíls, Mahmands, and Dá'údzís, and even some Yúsufzís, Tarkalánís, and others. On the 12th of Zí-Ḥijjah, the last month of 1039 H. (12th June, 1630 A.D.), the third year of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh's reign, they surrounded the city walls, which were too extensive to be defended; and Sa'íd Khán and

Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, who had now succeeded his father, was so pleased with Sa'íd Khán for his services on this occasion, that he at once raised him to the rank of commander of 5,000 horse, and made him Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul; "for, after this "affair," Khush-hál says, "the Mughal authority began again to be recognized in the "province of Kábul." Subsequently, by stipulations and agreements, Sa'íd Khán got 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, and Alá'í, the widow of Iḥdád, to come in. They arrived at Pas'háur; and, not long after, 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir died.* The Mughals, however, had again to send their forces into Tí-ráh against the Iḥdádís (or Ros'hánís); and Yúsuf, the Afrídí, and Ázár-Mír, the Wurakzí, who were the Iḥdádí *Sardárs* or leaders, made many

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his troops retired within the walls of the Bálá Ḥiṣár, or citadel. The insurgents assaulted it, but were beaten off. The whole account is too long for insertion here, but, with the exceptions above mentioned, it agrees pretty well with the Khaṭak account.

In 1041 H. (1631–32 A.D.), Lashkar Khán was superseded by Sa'íd Khán; and Shamsher Khán was made Fowj-dár of the two Bangas'his.

The Bádsháh Námah, under the events of the eighth year of the reign, 1044 H. (1634–35 A.D.), states, that "in the middle of the seventh month, the Rájah, Jagat Singh, was appointed to the Thánah-dárí [or, Fowj-dárí, for both words are indiscriminately used with respect to this part] of Bangas'h, which lies between [or juts out between] *the rebels* of the Khaṭak *ulus*, who dwell in that part, and dominates them." This would show that the Khaṭaks were not held to be remarkable for loyalty more than other Afgháns; and that they, on two occasions at least, united with the Tárikís has been already shown.

In the eighth year of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, on the festival of the solar weighing, Sa'íd Khán, who had been made Ṣúbah-dár for his gallant defence of Pas'háur against the insurgents, arrived at Court, bringing along with him 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, Anṣárí, son of Iḥdád, the Táríkí heretic, whom the Khán had induced, by promises and stipulations, to surrender, and to become a loyal subject. Sa'íd Khán, by an additional step in rank, attained the dignity of 5,000 *zát* and 4,000 horse, together with rich presents, in which other nobles and officers shared, on that festive occasion; and 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir received a gift of 10,000 *rúpís*. Soon after, Sa'íd Khán was permitted to return to his government; and 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir was presented with a sword, and raised to the rank of 1,000 *zát* and 600 horse.

* Some say that 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir died at Pes'háwar in 1043 H. (1633–34 A.D.), and was there buried, but 1045 H. (1635–36 A.D.) is the correct date. Mián-Dád, one of the sons of Jalálah, had, previous to that, been raised to the rank of 500 *zát* and 200 horse, but he died in 1043 H.; and this perhaps caused the confusion in the dates and names.

On the 4th of Jamádí-uṣ-Ṣání, the sixth month of 1047 H. (November, 1637 A.D.), two sons-in-law of Iḥdád, one, Muḥammad Zamán, son of Pír-Dád; the other, Ṣáḥib-Dád, along with Ḳádir-Dád, the grandson of Iḥdád, and 'Alá'í, the widow of Iḥdád, and mother of 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, who was the sister of [Allah-Dád, entitled] "the Rashíd Khán," son of Jalálah, the Táríkí heretic, and a member of the followers of 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, who were the sources of rebellion in the province of Kábul, arrived at the Court. Sa'íd Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, after great endeavours and contrivances, had induced them, through his agent, Muḥammad Ya'ḳúb, Kash-mírí, to come in; and now they were despatched to the presence of the Bádsháh. They were kindly treated, rank was assigned to them, honorary dresses were bestowed upon them, and they were sent to Rashíd Khán above mentioned, who was then the governor of the country of Talingánah, which, some time before, together with the title of the Rashíd Khán, had been bestowed upon him, who, by reason of his probity and good faith, had attained a high position. In 1048 H. (1638–39 A.D.), Rashíd Khán, Anṣárí, was likewise put in charge of the *Sarkár* of Bejá-Gaṛh, on the death of Raḥmat Khán, as well as of Burhán-púr in Khán-des. He also received an addition of rank, so that now he attained that of commander of 4,000 horse; and his brother, Hádí-Dád, was also promoted to the rank of 1,000 *zát* and 1,000 horse.

Considering all things, the descendants of the Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* the Pír-i-Tárík, although they were sent into southern India, were exceedingly well treated.

In the sixth year of Sháh-i-Jahán's reign, in Shawwál, the ninth month of 1042 H. (1633 A.D.), in the siege of Daulat-ábád in the Dakhan, against 'Ádil Sháh of Bíjá-púr, and the Nizám-ul-Mulk, Rashíd Khán was severely wounded, and his cousin, Mírzá Khán, Anṣárí, son of Núr-ud-Dín, one of the sons of the Pír-i-Ros'hán [the author of the Afghán poems translated in my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 51], was killed, together with a number of their personal followers. Rashíd Khán founded Ma'ú-i-Rashíd-ábád, or rather re-founded it, at the time he held the *jágír* or fief of Shams-ábád; for it formerly existed under the name of Ma'ú Ṭhoríah. This was in the reign of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, but the exact date is uncertain.

Among others, Rashíd Khán had in his employ men of the following Afghán tribes and sections of tribes, but chiefly Kaṛlárnís, who, as I have before remarked, were the chief supporters of the Ros'háni or Táríkí heretics, who with their families resided at Ma'ú-i-Rashíd-ábád; namely, 600 Muḥammadzís (of the Bá'ízí section of the Kaṛlárnís of Koháṭ); 100 other Kaṛlárnís of Bangas'h; 500 Dilazáks; 500 Wurakzís; 200 Afrídís; 400 Khaṭaks; 300 Matanís; 400 Khalíls; 200 Núhárnís; 400 Ghalzís; and 900 of other sections of tribes, supporters of the family, who are not enumerated.

Ma'ú remained in *jágír* to the descendants of the Nawwáb, Rashíd Khán, who are there known by the name of Khán-zádahs (descendants of the Khán), until it was resumed about a century since by the Nawwáb, the Muzaffar-i-Jang. In consequence of this resumption, the Khán-zádahs are now reduced to poverty, a few plots of land, rent free, alone remaining to them. One of them was lately glad to take the office of head constable in the police upon a salary of 10 rúpís monthly. They are generally ignorant of the part played in Afghánistán for so many years by the Pír-i-Ros'hán or Pír-i-Tárík, and his descendants, and of their own progenitor, Allah-Dád, surnamed "the Rashíd Khán," son of Jalálah. Rashíd Khán died in the twentieth year of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh's reign—1057 H. (1647 A.D.), and was buried near the town he had founded. His tomb is a substantial domed edifice, situated on high ground above the old bed of the Ganges. At the side of the building is the tomb of one of his wives. The attendant at these tombs is an old woman descended from him. Immediately west of Ma'ú, at the village of Hamír-púr, there is a shrine dedicated to the notorious Pír-i-Ros'hán, thus showing that he still has his followers.

Mírzá Khán, Anṣárí, son of Núr-ud-Dín, son of the Pír-i-Ros'hán, and cousin of the Rashíd Khán, appears to have resided sometime at Ma'ú. There is a *maḥállah* therein known as the Koṭ of Mírzá Khán. He also built a Bárah-Darí (a summer house, with twelve doors), at a place called Khán-púr near Shams-ábád.

Ma'ú is now desolated and its site planted. It lies on the banks of the old bed of the Ganges, about five miles west of Shams-ábád, and about twenty west of Farrukh-ábád.

good fights in Tí-ráh against them. This Yúsuf was such a valiant youth, that, in manhood, there was not one among the Iḥdádí leaders equal to him; and he was an astonishing swordsman, in such wise that beholders of his feats used to be filled with amazement thereat.

"At last, the Mughals induced these two *Sardars* to submit; they were each raised "to the rank of commanders of 1,000 horse, and were conducted to the presence of "the Bádsháh. He asssigned them lands near unto Pání-paṭ;" and, when Afẓal Khán, Khaṭak, wrote his history, subsequent to the year 1136 H. (1723–24 A.D.), that same tract of country was in the possession of their descendants, and still continues to be, I believe, to this day.*

It is much to be regretted that the Khaṭak author did not enter into more detail here. This affair is, evidently, the same as mentioned in the Bádsháh Námah under the year 1047 H. (1637–38 A.D.), of which the following is a brief summary.

"Some of the *ulusís* around Baghzaṇ [the printed Calcutta text of the above work contains the usual error of writing نغز—Naghaz for بغز—Baghzaṇ], according to their usual proclivities, had lately recalled the blind Karím-Dád, son of Jalálah, son of Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, along with his disciples and *anṣárs*,† and other

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* It is interesting to find a confirmation of Afẓal Khán's statements in the following notice of the son of this Wurakzí, Ázár Mír, in another history, the author of which was probably unaware of these facts.

Mírzá Muḥammad, son of Mu'tamid Khán, in his work, says:—

"In the year 1130 H., (1718 A.D.), in the month of Ṣafar (about the beginning of January), the author of these pages was despatched to take official charge of the property and effects of Jalál Khán, the founder of Jalál-ábád, near the Bahún Thánah, a dependency of Díw-band, within the bounds of the Saháran-púr Fowj-dárí, and distant fifty *kos* from the capital city of Dihlí.

"Jalál Khán was an Afghán of the Wurakzí tribe. His father, Hazár Mír [Ázár Mír], in the reign of Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh, came into Hindústán, and, by command of that Bádsháh, he obtained the Zamíndárí over certain places in the Do-ábah. At his death, the Zamíndárí over these places reverted to their original possessors, but, soon after, some other places in the district in which is the Bahún Thánah, and some other tracts, were conferred upon his son, Jalál Khán; and suitable rank was bestowed upon him. From that time up to the present, he continued one among the officers stationed within the limits of the Fowj-dárí jurisdiction of Saháran-púr.

"As he was a man of great gallantry, and good fortune, his affairs prospered more and more every day; and his rank and degree increased in proportion. In the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír he obtained the rank of commander of 500, and the title of Khán; and, in the latter part of that reign, he became Fowj-dár of Saháran-púr.

"In the reign of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, on the outbreak of the Sikhs, when they took possession of Saháran-púr and places around, with the object of expelling the whole of the Muḥammadans from the Do-ábah, Jalál Khán girded up his loins, and assembled the Muḥammadans of that part to defend their homes and property. On this occasion he performed many feats of gallantry against the infidel Sikhs; and, at last, the Sikh Gúrú sent a large force of Sikhs against Jalál Khán, and invested him in Jalál-ábád for some months. They could effect nothing, however, and had to retire, pursued by the Musalmáns. During these affairs Jalál Khán lost several sons, grandsons, and kinsmen; and Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, aware of his good services, promoted him to the rank of commander of 900; and, for some time, he held the Fowj-dárí of Sahrind.

"In Jahán-dár Sháh's time he obtained the rank of 1,500; and in the reign of Farrukh-siyar Bádsháh he was raised to the rank of commander of 2,500. He lived until the year 1129 H. (1717 A.D.), in the eleventh month of which he died, when he was in his eightieth year. He was a man of piety, generosity, hospitality, and valour; and no traveller or wayfarer ever left his door without being hospitably entertained.

"He left four sons, the eldest, 'Abd-ullah, was by an Afghán wife, the daughter of Mustajáb Khán, the Mahmand chief [*see* page 41, and note ¶, page 415]. As his name indicates, he became a devotee. Three other sons, Díndár, Námdár, and Muḥammad Yár, were by a Hindí woman, with whom he was so infatuated, that he sent 'Abd-ullah and his mother away. At the time of his death he left them nothing, and Díndár succeeded to the rule over his father's *jágírs*, his *ulús* or clan, and his *chaklah* or district. 'Abd-ullah cared not for such worldly things, but his son, Ghulám Muḥammad by name, did; and he desired to obtain his rights. So, taking his father along with him, he came to Court; and there, through the interest of some parties, his case was brought to the Bádsháh's notice. It was stated that his share of his father's property, amounting to 50,000 *ashrafís* (each = 16 rs.), 5 *lákhs* of rúpís, and other property, had been withheld from him, and he solicited that the government should take possession of his father's property (until the case was disposed of). It was, on this account, that I, the writer of these pages, was appointed to proceed, and make inquiries on the spot. It turned out that Jalál Khán used to spend all his income, and was always in debt; and the whole of his personal property only realized 500 rúpís."

There are a number of Afrídís still dwelling around Saháran-púr.

† This 'Arabic word signifies "protectors," "assistants," "companions," etc., and was first specially applied to the citizens of Madínah, who aided Muḥammad when he was obliged to fly from Makkah; and Báyazíd, otherwise Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Pír-i-Tárík, being descended from one of them through the Shaikh, Siráj-ud-Dín, the Anṣárí, his family, as a matter of course, are likewise styled Anṣárí. There are several other Anṣárí families, besides this particular one. Pír-i-Ros'hán was *not* "an Afghán of the *Urmur* tribe," as Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar, asserts in his book, and as those who copy from him assure us. The Anṣárís only *lived among* the Aor-Maṛ Afgháns; and some of the same Anṣárís live among them still, whom MacGregor, on the authority of Broadfoot, calls "a race of *Syads* called *Úrmur*," but a Sayyid is one thing and an Anṣárí is another.

Leyden, who gave an account of the Ros'hánís in the "Asiatic Researches," after first saying that Báyazíd was "by birth an Afghán, but of Arab extraction," immediately after says he was an Anṣárí; and after that again contradicts himself, but, in so doing, he, at the same time, endeavours to correct himself from the Ákhúnd, Darwezah's, book, in saying that "his father, 'Abd-ullah, lived among the Afgháns of the tribe of "*Vurmud*," as he reads Aor-Maṛ. This was through want of local knowledge.

Báyazíd was born at Jálandhar in the Panj-áb, the year before Bábar Bádsháh overthrew the Afgháns at

followers and supporters, whom the heroes of this government had driven out, and who had been dwelling on the borders of the territory occupied by the Núhání [or Lúhání] tribe of Afgháns. They were biding their opportunity, however, and, having now found it, they came into Tí-ráh.

"The people of Tí-ráh, who, outwardly, pretended to be loyal and obedient, and had thereby saved themselves from ruin, were, inwardly, contumacious and disaffected, and quite ready to show that they were so."

The author then says, without giving any previous information respecting them, that,—

"For the purpose of reducing Malik Túr, the Wurakzí, and Sháh Beg [a nickname, without doubt: Yúsuf, the Afrídí, is evidently referred to], the Afrídí, and their brethren and kinsmen, when the season [the approach of winter] came round for returning to Pas'háur from Kábul, the Şúbah-dár, Sa'íd Khán, the Muzaffar-i-Jang, assembled a force of 15,000 foot, the whole of whom were levies of Afghán tribes of those parts, subject to his government [south, and south-east, of Kábul?], whom he had made obedient subjects. With these likewise came the Rájah, Jagat Singh, [referred to previously as Thánah-dár of the Bangas'hát], Pur-Dil Khán, 'Izzat Khán, the Sayyid, Wálí, and others [with their own troops], and 2,000 cavalry of the Şúbah-dár's own contingent troops, the whole force being placed under the command of his wakíl or agent, Muhammad Ya'kúb, the Kash-mírí.

"It so happened, previous to the arrival of these forces within the Baghzan boundaries, that some of the mountaineers of that part, for the purpose of *protecting their own* property, and saving their own lives, from the hands of the troops, *put to death* the brother of the blind Karím-Dád [whose name is not mentioned], who had previously fled to Balkh, and who, about that time, at the instigation of Nazr Muhammad Khán, ruler of Balkh, had come secretly into that part, and was going about among the villages dependent on and around Baghzan, lighting up the flame of sedition and rebellion among that ungrateful people, and promising them aid from the before-mentioned ruler.

"With the blind Karím-Dád's brother, they also put to death the brother of Hazár [Khush-hál's Ázár] Mír, the Wurakzí, who, with Karím-Dád, they were making the counter [in their game of chess] with each other. Consequently, with this certificate of their loyalty, the afore-mentioned mountaineers, and most of the heads of villages and *ulusís* of, and around, Baghzan, saw the troops enter Bálá [Upper] Bangas'h without apprehension of danger to themselves.

"When the troops reached Baghzan, bodies of the people of that part [all Afgháns] of Bangas'h joined them, with the exception of the Lakan [لکن—*sic* in MSS. It may probably refer to the people of the village of Lakhan لخن mentioned at page 90, para. 6] *ulús*, and two other *ulúsís* among whom the blind Karím-Dád and his followers were staying. They having no chance of submitting as they supposed [because they, as Afgháns, would not betray their guests], or out of excessive dread, betook themselves to the fastnesses of the mountains very difficult to enter, and to the narrow valleys and defiles thereof.* Their dwellings were levelled, and their property destroyed; and in these towering mountains, in this melancholy condition, they remained. The snow and rain fell upon them from above [for it was winter], while the flood of the sword ascended to them from below. As some among them lost their lives daily, they saw no other remedy than to give up† the blind Karím-Dád, which they did, along with his family and dependants. The victorious troops then returned to Pas'háur, where, soon after, orders were received to put Karím-Dád to death, and the order was carried out accordingly."

Khush-hál says:—"Subsequently, during the sway of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh "over the Şúbah of Kábul, the Pus'htúns were treated despotically, and were subject "to great severity, consequently the tribes were ever ready for an outbreak. At the "time that Aurang-zeb confined his father at Ágrah, Mahábat Khán was Şúbah-dár

Páni-pat, and acquired the throne of Dihlí. Báyazíd's mother's father and his own father were brothers. In my history of the Afgháns I shall give a full account of him and his sect, but a short account of him will be found in the notice prefixed to the poems of Mírza Khán, Anşárí, in my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 51.

* The Spín-Ghar, or Safed Koh, is here referred to.

† The Dábistán says that Karím-Dád surrendered, with all the family [then remaining at large], to Sa'íd Khán's agent, and that Karím-Dád was put to death in 1048 H. (1638–39 A.D.).

"of the province. This, however, was not 'the great Mahábat Khán' of Jahán-gír "*Bádsháh's* reign, but another, Luhrásib Khán, the Ṣafawí [son of 'Alí Mardán Khán, "who betrayed Ḳandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán], who bore the same title after '*the* Mahábat "'Khán's death.' That great and powerful noble died in the Dakhan, while in charge "of the southern provinces of the empire, and holding the chief command of the troops, "in 1043 H. (1634 A.D.)."*

Khush-ḥál Khán mentions no other events as occurring in the parts immediately around Kohát until the year 1070 H. (began September 7th, 1659 A.D.),† at which time Aurang-zeb had usurped the throne of his father [on the 1st of Zí-Ḳa'dah, the eleventh month, 1068 H.=29th August, 1658 A.D.], had already kept him in durance over a year, and was fighting against his brothers, and destroying them in detail.

In that year, he says, during the time that the Mahábat Khán was Ṣúbah-dár, Mír Ya'ḳút, the Bádsháh's Díwán at Pas'háur, was despatched in command of a Mughal force into Tí-ráh against certain Afrídís and Wurakzís, who had rebelled; and, as great friendship existed between the Mír and himself, he asked him, Khush-ḥál, to accompany him on that expedition, and that he did so. Unfortunately he gives no details, and merely says that they returned from Tí-ráh triumphant, by way of Kohát, in the month of Rajab—the seventh month—1070 H. (April, 1660 A.D.). He now, however, begins to give more particulars respecting the Karlárnís of Lower Bangas'h, to whom the name of "Bangash," as the name of a tribe, has been incorrectly applied.‡

"On reaching Kohát," he says, "Bíbí Daur, the mother of Sher Khán, made a feast "for me. At this time, her son, Sher Khán [who was, evidently, the chief of the "tribe of the Malik-Mírís], was hostile to Mahábat Khán [or, rather, the Mughal "Government]; and Sher Khán had been seized, placed in confinement, and taken "away to the presence of the Bádsháh." His mother, consequently, appears, from this, to have acted for her son during his absence, or exile, in Hind.

Soon after Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír became established on his father's throne, Mahábat Khán was removed from the Kábul province; and the Sayyid, Amír Khán, the brother of Shaikh Mír, one of Aurang-zeb's own creatures, was nominated in his

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* The great Mahábat Khán, who was a Turk, and whose name was Zamánah Beg, whom Tod, in his rage for all things Ráj-pút, made a Ráj-pút of, died at Burhán-púr in the fifth month of 1044 H. (September, 1634 A.D.), of fistula, which he had suffered from for a long time. He stood next in rank in the State to Áṣaf Khán, who, from his relationship to the Bádsháh, stood highest of all the grandees. Mahábat Khán held the rank of 7,000 *zát* and 7,000 horse; his titles were Khán-i-Khánán—Chief of Kháns—and Sipah-Sálár—General-in-Chief—and he was viceroy of all the provinces of the Dakhan.

† In the twelfth year of the reign, 1048 H. (1638 A.D.), and in the last month (end of March or early in April), when a force was directed to proceed to Kábul under the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, and Sháh-i-Jahán was about to follow, in consequence of the proceedings of the Persians respecting Ḳandahár, 50,000 cavalry assembled at Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h, between Aṭak and Pes'háwar, mentioned at page 34, and the Rájah, Jagat Singh, is said to have then been placed in charge of Upper and Lower Bangas'h, with directions to collect supplies of provisions, so that, after the Bádsháh's arrival at Kábul, supplies of grain might continue to come in without interruption. In the third month of the following year, 1049 H. (July, 1639 A.D.), when returning from Kábul, Sháh-i-Jahán set out for Láhor by the Upper and Lower Bangas'h route. The historian says:—"As that route contains many *kotals* and *tangís*, command was given to the Prince, "Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, to remain a short time longer at Kábul, and to follow subsequently along with "the nobles serving under him. The Bádsháh's first stage was to the Chashma'h or Spring of Khwájah "Khizr; and on his way he presented 10,000 *rúpís* to the Sayyids of Gardaiz. On the same day, Khánah-zád "Khán was appointed Thánah-dár of Ghaznín. Having reached Kohát, the Rájah, Jagat Singh, got up a "*kamraghah* hunt [the game for some days previous, and sometimes from a considerable distance, is driven in "by a number of people, troops included, who form two half, or nearly half, circles, and subsequently con-"verge at a certain point, enclosing the game within], and, among other animals, fifty-six *már-khúrs*, ibex, "and other large game, were killed, among which number seven head of game fell to the Bádsháh's own gun. "On the 24th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal—the fifth month—he reached the banks of the Níl-áb—the Indus is here "meant—and next day crossed the river by the bridge of boats at the Resa'í ferry [referred to at page 442], "and moved to Láhor."

‡ During the campaign in Balkh and Badakhshán, on the 6th of Zí-Ḳa'dah—the eleventh month—1056 H. (January, 1647 A.D.), on which day a numerous force of Úzbaks assaulted Tirmiz on the Jíḥún, and planted scaling ladders against the fortifications outside the citadel, the place was saved by a Karlární Afghán of Lower Bangas'h, who is called "Mírzá, the Koháṭí," who, with 500 Afghán footmen of Lower Bangas'h, defended the place. He encountered the enemy; and, after some hard fighting, in which he lost his own life, assistance arrived, and the Úzbaks were repulsed with great loss.

When Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh returned from Kábul, on the 9th of Sha'bán of that same year, while encamped at Bagrámí, two kuroh from Kábul, among other promotions was that of Zú-l-Ḳadr Khán to the rank of 2,500 horse. "He was likewise presented with a dress of honour, and appointed governor of the city and "fortress of Kábul, with charge of Upper Bangas'h, and, *now*, Lower Bangas'h was added thereto."

stead.* Soon after, Khush-ḥál, himself, was seized at Pas'háur, whither he had gone to present himself, and was sent a captive into Hind. He continued in captivity two years and five months; and was let out of his prison in the fortress of Rantabhúr in the eleventh month of 1076 H. (June, 1666 A.D.),† but he was not yet set at liberty. Great disorder had arisen in the parts adjacent to Pas'háur; and a person representing himself to be Sháh Shujá', Aurang-zeb's brother, who was supposed to have perished, appeared in Suwát, and was supported by the Yúsufzís and kindred tribes. Khush-ḥál Khán, who was supposed to have great influence among the Afgháns of those parts, was now sent for by the Bádsháh, who, according to his own account, questioned him on the subject of the most fitting Ṣúbah-dár. Consequently, the Sayyid, Amír Khán, was removed, and Mahábat Khán, then Ṣúbah-dár of Guzarát, was again appointed.‡ At his special request, Khush-ḥál was sent along with him, and was thus set at liberty. As Aurang-zeb *left it entirely with Mahábat Khán as to what rank and employment the Khaṭak chief should obtain*,§ he, Afghán like, became disgusted with both, and did not enter heartily into anything that was expected of him; and matters remained in much the same state as before. Again was Mahábat Khán removed, and Muḥammad Amín Khán was sent.‖ Soon after, on the 1st of Muharram, 1083 H. (April, 1672 A.D.), followed the Khaibar disaster at the *Kotal* of Gharíb Khána'h, when his whole army of 40,000 men, with the exception of five persons including himself, perished, as related at page 40. Khush-ḥál and other Afghán vassals were with the Ṣúbah-dár on that occasion. Once more was Mahábat Khán despatched;¶

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* The Sayyid, Amír Khán, was appointed on the 14th of Rabí'-uṣ-Ṣání, the fourth month, 1072 H. (November, 1661 A.D.); and on the 16th of the last month of that year (August, 1662 A.D.), Mahábat Khán was appointed Ṣúbah-dár of Guzarát, in place of the Mahá-Rájah, Jaswant Singh; and Mahábat's rank was increased to 6,000 *zát* and 5,000 horse.

† Khush-ḥál was first imprisoned at Dihlí, and subsequently was sent to the fortress of Rantabhúr. Sháh-i-Jahán died on the 26th of Rajab, the seventh month, of that same year.

‡ Khush-ḥál's statements are fully confirmed by others. Amír Khán continued some six years to be Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul. In the tenth month of 1078 H. (March, 1668 A.D.), Mahábat Khán, who was then Ṣúbah-dár of Guzarát, was recalled from Aḥmad-ábád, and again appointed to Kábul, as Khush-ḥál Khán states, on the day of the reception. It is added by the author of the Ma'áṣir-i-'Álam-gírí, that, "along with some "others," who are named, "it was commanded that Khush-ḥál Khán should continue to present himself on "public days." The Sayyid, Amír Khán, soon after arrived; and, on the 25th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal, the fifth month of that year, on the festival of the solar weighing of the Bádsháh, on completing another year of his age, "Khush-ḥál Khán, and other Arbábs received presents of 3,000 *rúpís*, and 40 sets of dresses of honour "were distributed among them." It will be noticed that Khush-ḥál was not entirely set at liberty until the arrival of the late Ṣúbah-dár, Amír Khán.

§ Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, asserts, "that, by Aurang-zeb's orders, the captive chief was released, *set upon the* "*king's own horse*, and dismissed with honour to his own country," and yet, even by Hai'át's own account, "his first act on reaching home was to abdicate in favour of his son." I may mention that all this is totally contrary to Khush-ḥál's own statements, which are certainly more reliable than anything Hai'át can adduce; and to seat a person of far greater rank "on the king's own horse" was totally contrary to custom, and wholly unheard of in the history of the sovereigns of India.

‖ Mahábat Khán was again removed, or relieved, in 1081 H. (1670 A.D.); and Muḥammad Amín Khán, who was then Ṣúbah-dár of Láhor, was appointed in the first month (May) of that year. He reached Pes'háwar on the 10th of Rabí'-ul-Ákhir, the fourth month of the same year. In the sixth month Mahábat Khán reached the Court, and was received in a most distinguished manner, the Bádsháh greeting him with "*khush ámaded*"—"You are welcome." The Sayyid, Amír Khán, who had resigned his rank, died at Dihlí in Rabí'-ul-Ákhir, the same month in which Muḥammad Amín Khán reached Pes'háwar. Mahábat Khán was soon after despatched to command the troops, and assume the government of the provinces in the Dakhan. After a short time, Muḥammad Amín was sent for, from the Kábul province, to undertake the office of Wazír, vacant through the death of Ja'far Khán, but, as he presumed to make certain stipulations respecting his undertaking that office, the idea was abandoned; and he was sent back to resume the Ṣúbah-dárí of Kábul on the 21st of Jamádí-ul-Awwal, the fifth month of 1082 H. (September, 1671 A.D.).

¶ The news of Muḥammad Amín Khán's overthrow reached the Bádsháh on the 12th of Muḥarram, the ninth day after the disaster; and he determined to proceed at once into the Panj-áb. Mahábat Khán was summoned in hot haste from the Dakhan, as being the only one, "who, from his acquaintance with the Afgháns, "could do anything to pacify them;" and Fidá'í Khán was at once despatched to Pes'háwar with troops from Láhor. Mahábat Khán, having come, was appointed Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul once more; and it was on this occasion that he wrote to Khush-ḥál to join him. In the second month after the disaster, Muḥammad Amín arrived in Aurang-zeb's camp. He had been appointed Ṣúbah-dár of Guzarát *before his arrival, with an increase of rank*, as a *solatium* perhaps, but was directed not to present himself.

The accounts of the steps taken immediately after the disaster are not explained, in any detail, in the available histories of Aurang-zeb's reign, which are very few. On the 16th of Muḥarram, the first month of 1084 H. (April, 1673 A.D.), "it was reported that Mahábat Khán had marched through the Khaibar and gone "on to Kábul, without chastising the Afgháns, which was displeasing to the Bádsháh." On the 17th of Sha'bán, the eighth month of the same year, Shujá'at Khán, who was the son of Mahábat Khán's wife (by a former husband), was despatched for that purpose, at the head of a numerous army; and the Máhá-Rájah, Jaswant Singh, was made his colleague. The Gand-áb disaster followed on the 17th of the eleventh month of 1084 H. (February, 1674 A.D.). Aurang-zeb now determined to proceed into the Panj-áb, and set out in the first month of 1085 H. (1674 A.D.); and, in the middle of the third month (June), Sar-Buland Khán was despatched to Pes'háwar with troops. More respecting these matters will be found farther on.

and he wrote asking Khush-ḥál to join him, but he "would never," he says, "go to "the Mughals again."*

About this time he wrote the following poem, which shows how he appreciated, what a recent writer styles, being "dismissed with honour":—

> "I am well acquainted with Aurang-zeb's justice and equity—
> His orthodoxy in matters of faith—his self-denial and fasts;
>
> His own brothers, time after time, cruelly put to the sword—
> His father overcome in battle, and into prison thrown!
>
> Though a person dash his head against the ground a thousand times,
> Or, by his fastings, should bring his navel and spine together;
>
> Until coupled with the desire of acting with virtue and goodness,
> His adorations, and devotions, are all impositions and lies.
>
> The way of whose tongue is one, and the path of his heart another,
> Let his very vitals be mangled, and lacerated by the knife!
>
> Externally, the serpent is handsome, and symmetrically formed;
> But, internally, is with uncleanness and with venom filled.
>
> The deeds of men will be many, and their words will be few;
> But the acts of recreants are few, and their boastings many.
>
> Since the arm of Khush-ḥál cannot reach the tyrant here,
> In the day of doom, may the Almighty have no mercy on him!"
>
> "Poetry of the Afghans," page 188.

He now takes up the thread of Kohát affairs once more.

It seems that Sher Muḥammad had, in former years, offered the Mughal authorities to farm the lands of Tarí Bolák, which Khush-ḥál had previously held in *jágír* from

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* Here is another specimen of the Hai'átí history. The author assures us that Khush-ḥál Khán "ruled his "tribe 50 years;" that his son, Ashraf, "put an end to himself" in prison; that his son, Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, was "nominated in his place," but "Bahrám Khán gave him no moment of repose;" that the "aged Khush-ḥál" passed away, "and Bahrám soon followed his father;" and then that Muḥammad Afẓal was "left in peace 61 years." In all this account he gives not a single date.

But what says Khush-ḥál, and his grandson, Afẓal, upon all this? A slight examination will show the fallacy of such crude assertions under the name of "history." Khush-ḥál says his father was killed in the tenth month of 1050 H. (January, 1641 A.D.), and that he succeeded him, but was taken away captive into Hind in the middle of 1074 H. (January, 1663 A.D.), and was only released from his fortress prison in the eleventh month of 1076 H. (June, 1665 A.D.), much less set at liberty entirely, or "on the king's own horse." He accompanied Mahábat Khán when he proceeded to assume his appointment, but, he was so disgusted at his *unjust treatment*, on finding that only the district of Tarí Bolák was assigned to him, much less "dis-"missed with honour, upon the king's own horse," that, at his own request, his son, Ashraf, was left in charge of the affairs of the Khaṭak territory, and the care of the high road from Aṭak to Noh-s'hahra'h. After Muḥammad Amín's defeat in the first month of 1083 H., he says he "will never go near the Mughals again," thus giving up the chieftain-ship of the tribe. Such being the case, allowing for two years and five months actual confinement, and about the same period of detention before and after, his rule of the tribe extended, at the very utmost, to but *twenty-nine* years. He died in the fourth month of 1099 H. (January, 1688 A.D.), so that from the date of his father's death to the day of his own was not fifty years altogether. In 1092 H. (1681 A.D.), his son, Ashraf, was seized, and imprisoned in Hind. Afẓal, Khush-ḥál's grandson, was not allowed to return to his own tribe, and resume the charge of the road from Aṭak to Noh-s'hahra'h, until 1104 H. (1692–93 A.D.). His father *died* of grief, but not by his own hand—Musalmáns do not generally commit suicide: it is contrary to their religious tenets—in 1106 H. (1694–95 A.D.). Bahrám, who, the Kaṭhar writer says, "soon followed his father," died *only a quarter of a century after him*, in 1124 H. (1712 A.D.). According to such history, since Afẓal "*was left in peace sixty-one years*" *after Bahrám's death*, it would bring us to the year 1184 H., which commenced 26th April, 1770 A.D., by which time Afẓal, had he lived so long, must have been a patriarch, since he was 54 in 1134 H.

According to the same "history," after Afẓal's death, his two sons, Muḥammad 'Alí, and Sa'd-ullah, who "lived at" Akoṛah and Ṭíraey respectively, quarreled; the latter overthrew the former, and placed one of his own sons at Ṭíraey; and yet all this took place while "Muḥammad Sháh was ruling at Dehli, and Nadir Shah "in Persia." Now Nádir Sháh invaded Hind, and took Dihlí, and all the territory west of the Indus was surrendered to him, in 1152 H. (began March 29th, 1739 A.D.), only *thirty-two years anterior* to the expiration of Afẓal's "61 years of peace after Bahrám's death." Again, the same writer tells us, that Aḥmad Sháh, Abdálí, took another son of Sa'd-ullah, son of Afẓal, along with him when he invaded Hindústán, but Aḥmad Sháh's first invasion was in 1160 H. (1747 A.D.), and his last, in 1170 H. (1756 A.D.), or, respectively, *eleven years and one year before the expiration* of the "61 years of peace" which Afẓal is said to have enjoyed after Bahrám's death.

Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in the Preface to his book, mentions as one of his authorities the "*Gulshan-i-Roh* of Muḥammad Afẓal Khán," but, unfortunately for his correctness, Afẓal Khán wrote no work bearing that title. That is the title *I* gave to *my* Chrestomathy of the Afghán language, which contains some extracts from Afẓal's work, and a *part* of the history of the Khaṭak tribe, which extracts Hai'át Khán, like two or three others, appropriated, and pretended he had used Afẓal's history, which I do not think he ever saw, as is clearly shown from Hai'át's not knowing that it is called "Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa'." From it chiefly I have taken the extracts here given of the history of the Khaṭaks, and some other historical matter.

the Bádsháh, for 30,000 rúpís.* Khush-hál held counsel with the Tarí Bolák people (Khataks) about it, and told them of Sher Muhammad's doings. They said, that, if he would send them a Sardár from his own family, he should soon see what they would do. So Shádaey Khán, one of his uncles, was despatched to them with a few horsemen to attend him. At the outset, the Tarí Boláks slew a kinsman of Sher Muhammad's, named Baháey, a Malik-Mírí Karlární of Bangas'h, near the village of the Ṭápí† of Angú, and some others along with him. On this, Sher Muhammad assembled a force, and Khush-hál despatched a force under his eldest uncle, Bahádur, by name, and along with him, his son, Ashraf, who was then quite a youth, to Da Ghoríahzío Ṭol.‡ Sher Muhammad Khán moved out of Kohát against the Khataks; and the uncle of Sher Muhammad, who likewise was called Bahádur, at the commencement of the fight, was killed by a bullet; and Sher Muhammad was defeated. In this affair Ashraf distinguished himself, and wished to pursue the beaten Kohátís, but his great uncle would not permit him.

Soon after, another fight took place in the Nílhan Wara'h, where Sher Muhammad, who had induced the whole of the Karlární clans of Lower Bangas'h to espouse his cause, came, confident and arrogant, and took up a position; and Allah-Yár Khán was the leader of his force on this occasion. Shádaey Khán, Khush-hál Khán's uncle, who held charge of the Khatak territory nearest to Lower Bangas'h, was at the Turkai§ Ghás'haey or pass at the time. First, the Shápí Khel, Mukárí [Khataks], moved out, and began skirmishing; and, the remainder of the Khatak levies having followed, the Bangas'h Karlárnís were again overthrown, with a loss of 300 killed. Among the booty captured were 300 musical instruments, thus showing that the Bangas'h Karlárnís must have been in strong force to have so many bards or minstrels among them, as indicated by the number of these instruments.||

These events must have happened as far back as 1063 or 1064 H. (1652–53 or 1653–54 A.D.).

Under the events of 1084 H. (1673 A.D.), Khush-hál writes:—"After I had "returned home to Ráj-gaṛ about a month, Shujá'at Khán, and the Rájah, "Jaswant Singh, came from the Panj-áb at the head of a numerous army, and "in great pomp and pride." When they reached Aṭak, Khush-hál received a summons, couched in conciliatory terms, but also containing threats mixed with assurances, but he declined to attend them: he had had enough of the Mughals. Then he goes on to say:—"Along with them came Sher Muhammad Khán, Kohátí, "[before referred to]; and he was about to cross the river on his way to rejoin the "Mughal commanders. The Afrídís urged me to attack him on the way, but I did "not follow their advice. He too is a Pus'htún, and has now, for some seventeen or "eighteen years, been knocked about enough, as an exile in Hind in attendance upon "Aurang-zeb, and poor enough too; and it would not have been manly in me to "waylay him like as a wild beast would its prey, now that he was drawing near to his "native hills once more. He was welcomed by the Kohátís [Karlární Afgháns of "Kohát—his own tribe] when he arrived near that place; and they escorted him "thither, as did Táj Beg, Hotí, and Tarsan, Síní [Khataks]—the dogs!—who also "went forth to welcome him home again. The Múshak Sháhaey's son, Púd-rúh, "by name, was much taken with him. This Sher Muhammad, however, had boasted "what he was going to do against me. I was unaware that he did not feel for the "honour of the Afghán name,¶ and that he would act like a dog."

* The *Maḥáll* of Tarí Boláḳ was a royal *jágír* or fief, which generally pertained to the Fowj-dárí of Lower Bangas'h.

† Ṭápí, but not "Tapí," nor "Tupee," is the name of a clan or section of the Bá'ízí Karlárnís of Lower Bangas'h.

‡ Ṭol, in Pus'hto, signifies "a concourse of people," "a society," "gathering," also "a horde," "gang," "drove," "flock," etc. The meaning of the above name therefore is "The concourse or gathering of Ghoríahzís."

§ "Toorkai" of the maps.

|| *See* note *, page 394.

¶ The above remarks by Khush-ḥál are valuable in an ethnographical point of view, for one or two writers tell us that the people *they call* "Bangash" are not Afgháns, but *'Arabs;* and they give them the name of the country as the name of their tribe. We might, however, as well apply the names England or France, or India or Persia, as the names of tribes. Another writer again, whose theories continue to grow wilder and wilder, classes "the Bangash"—for he falls into the same error as the others—along with "the *Afrídí,*" among the *Turklánrí,* who are also called "*Kararai* and *Karalánrí,*" and who, "from the mention of the Khattak people," he says, "were composed of *various sects of Turk tribes,*" but how "Turk" comes from "Khattak" does not appear. But, although they are classed "by Afghan writers" with the same race as "the Afrídí," who, as being *Turklánrí,* must be *Turks,* the Afrídí, according to him, "are without doubt the present representatives of the *Aparytæ* of Herodotus"!

In another place, the same writer tells us, that "the Pushtún or Pathán is of a totally different race from the "Afghán and Ghalzai," consequently, a Turklánrí Karalánrí Turk Bangash could neither be a Pus'htún, an

"Well, soon after Sher Muḥammad Khán reached Kohát again, at the instigation of Sháhaey, the Múshak,* before referred to, he assembled a force of Karlárnís of Bangas'h; and, under pretence of hunting, sallied forth on an expedition. The Khaṭak families then dwelling on the Kohát border, through force of circumstances, more particularly the Mahmandís, became filled with fear [in consequence of this movement]. At this juncture, likewise, a letter had been received from Ashraf Khán, from Láhor, saying that he had obtained the grant of the [Khaṭak] country, which filled us all with joy. I, consequently, permitted the Mahmandí families to depart, and come into the Khwara'h. They set out; and the females of my family, and those of Saráe along with them, ascended by the Gharbín Ghás'haey, and proceeded towards the Darga'h [range]. I still continued at Ráj-gaṛ [out of the way of the Mughals], but, after two or three days had elapsed, I proceeded over against the mountains† to Mandoṛí.‡ In this my object was to send away the Mahmandí families referred to in front of me, and then to descend by the Níl-áb Ghás'haey [into the Khwara'h]. On this, Sháhaey, the Múshak, despatched a letter to Sher Muḥammad Khán, saying, that I was then at Mandoṛí, with only a small following, and that if he set out he would be able to capture me. He started accordingly, to make a forced march, but, by the time he reached Tápí, I had heard of it, and made the Mahmandí families turn back; and I brought them up again, and, next morning, faced about to be ready for him. Bravo to the Afrídís! Aḥmad, Chandal, and all! for they came to my aid; and, at the village of the Shaikh, Allah-Dád, they united with me.

"The idiot, Sher Muḥammad Khán, now becoming aware of my movements, decamped in all haste from Tápí; and I collected a body of between 400 and 500 Khaṭaks, consisting of Mahmandís, Aoríá Khel, and Babars,§ with the intention of making the rascal, Sháhaey, the Múshak, remove with his family from where he was into the Khwara'h. I made him start accordingly, after which I set out for Tsautara'h, with the intention of moving against Kohát, as soon as I could collect together a sufficient force, and lay waste the Bangas'h territory. After I had passed on my way for some distance, a deal of rain fell; and Sháhaey, instead of going as directed into the Khwara'h, immediately faced about, and retired to Tápí, and there took up his quarters. I made a great mistake in not striking his head off before doing anything else, and should then have had no further trouble with him. Through not having done so, I was prevented from undertaking other things; and having other matters to attend to, he was allowed to remain in that part as before.

"Having reached Tsautara'h, as previously agreed upon between us, Aḥmad, Afrídí, joined me with 100 horsemen. It had been arranged that we should move towards Kohát by different routes. Then others, such as the whole of the Darsamand, Badah Khel, and other clans of Karlárnís, sent letters to say, that they would join us in the expedition, and help to annihilate the idiot, Sher Muḥammad Khán. Those of Kohát, likewise, either through fear, or through honourable motives [on account of Sher Muḥammad's misdoings], were quite agreeable that he should be got rid of, he being a creature of the Mughals.

"At this juncture came the good news of the Afghán victory at Gand-áb [in the eleventh month of 1084 H.,—1673 A.D.], in which Ae-mal Khán, Afrídí, overthrew Shujá'at Khán and the Rájah, Jaswant Singh, and their army; that Shujá'at had been killed, and Jaswant Singh had fled.‖ Great was the joy of the Afgháns thereat, but Sher Muḥammad was filled with consternation, now that the Mughal army had been destroyed, and knew not what to do; for Shujá'at Khán was his patron.

"When this news reached Daryá Khán, Ae-mal Khán's brother, he considered that, as I had been successful just before in taking Noh-s'hahr from the Mughals,¶

Afghán, nor a Ghalzí, while the Pus'htúns are, according to him, "the *Pakhtues* of Herodotus," and still more strange, "are connected with the *Picts* and Scots of our own country."

Contrary to the above, we have here a Khaṭak chief, a man of learning, well versed in the history and traditions of his own Afghán people and country, telling us, that Sher Muḥammad Khán, the Malik Mírí Karlární, was a Pus'htún like himself; and that he expected he, as an Afghán, had the honour of the Afghán name at heart. The words he uses are "*nang da Afgháníyat*," and yet we are now told that Pus'htúns are not Afgháns.

Such being the remarks of the Khaṭak chief (who would have been much surprised had he been told he was a "*Turk*"), there can be no doubt who is the best and most trustworthy authority on the subject. He had no occasion to "correct genealogies," any more than Khán-i-Jahán, the Lodí, had; for they existed in writing before either was born.

* The Múshaks are a clan of the Bolák Khaṭaks.

† The mountains separating the Adam Khel Afrídís from the Khaṭaks. *See* note §, page 431.

‡ Turned into "Mundooni" in the maps.

§ Not "Bobers," nor "Bobbers," as they have been styled in "Settlement," and other Reports.

‖ *See* the extract from Khush-ḥál's poem about it, quoted at page 42.

¶ *See* page 435. This place is called Noh-s'hahr and Noh-s'hahra'h indiscriminately.

and Ae-mal Khán had overthrown Shujá'at Khán and Rájah Jaswant Singh, he was quite able to attack Kohát and gain possession of it, without any other assistance than that of his own tribesmen, in order that none else should have the credit of it but himself; and that they might carry off the plunder, and the Hindú women of Kohát. Contrary, therefore, to the previous agreement that we should unite our forces on the day of the Akhtar [Lo-e Akhtar ?—the Feast of the Sacrifice], and move and act in concert, Daryá Khán started four days before the time. He fought valiantly, but Kohát was quite a different place from Noh-s'hahr, and he was repulsed. Many fine youths of his Afrídís fell, and, along with them, his brother, Tátár Khán, the loss, altogether, amounting to 100 men left on the field. We ought to have gone against Kohát together, and then we should have succeeded, but the Almighty did not will that Daryá Khán should take it alone.

"Sher Muhammad, who, before this, was afraid of his life, thus unexpectedly gained a victory. He sent out letters in all directions giving a glowing account of his success; cut off the heads of the dead Afrídís; and, crossing the Guzr [ferry],* sent their heads to Pas'háur by the Khatak road. The Amír-ship of Sher Muhammad now became patent to the Mughal authorities; and a dress of honour, a horse, and a *lákh* of *rúpís*, were bestowed upon him.

"I never thought Daryá Khán would have acted thus towards *me*, and without, at least, asking my advice. I was mustering my men in Tsautara'h at the time; and when I heard of his defeat I could not credit it. Daryá Khán afterwards wrote, and said, that, if I came with my forces, we might still be able to do something. In this he was mistaken. If he could have kept the field while I was bringing my forces from Tsautara'h, something might have been effected, but, although I had brought my followers from the hills to aid him, many on whom I depended deserted me; and I was impeded in my movements. I depended on the Khwarams of Kot, but they disgraced themselves, and went over to Sher Muhammad's side, while the Tarís returned to Láchí. The Ságharís kept their word, and came, along with 'Ábid Khán, in good order, to Kot. . . . . While these intrigues were going on, I sent some horsemen to the village of the Gadá-í Khel near Khad, and burnt it. Ten or twelve days passed; and it had been agreed between Daryá Khán and myself, that the Afrídís should come down again [from their hills], and that the Saráe [Khatak] forces should also come, when we would draw near to Kohát; and great was the confusion among the Bangas'h Karlárnís in consequence."†

The defection of Khush-hál Khán's own tribe,‡ some of whom were bribed to desert him, the intrigues of such of the Bangas'h Karlárnís as sided with Sher Muhammad, and the inability of Daryá Khán, Afrídí, to keep the field for any longer time, caused the expedition to be abandoned. Both Khush-hál Khán and Daryá Khán appear to have been purposely deceived by interested parties. Finding that disaffection was ripe among them, Khush-hál Khán resolved to move with his followers and meet the Afrídís, expecting that the Khataks of Saráe would come; and certain, in case of being able to move upon Kohát, that the Khataks generally would follow. He came to Khwájah Basír, and then went down to Dand. Further defections took place, on which he resolved to take all the Sínís with him,§ move towards the Afrídís, and send a man to see if they had come down; and, if so, to move at once towards Kohát. If the Afrídís were not down, then he proposed to send the Sínís away, and post them at Kot. This, too, failed; and some advised one way and some another. Khush-hál now resolved to go to the Afrídís himself, and to act as they advised. He therefore proceeded to Kund-yálaey by the east side of the Shádí Khel villages, and made inquiries about the Afrídís. He says :—

"Some stated that they would be down that day; and my heart was glad, for then I should be able to muster my forces. I remained there that night, and immediately

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* It is difficult to understand what ferry is here referred to, unless one lower down the Indus, by the Bannú route, be meant, especially as "the Khatak road" is mentioned. The route between Kohát and Pes'háwar was closed, of course, by the Afrídís; and the Khataks, generally, and such as were loyal to Khush-hál's family, were hostile to the Kohátís, and in alliance with the Afrídís.

† Those who sided with Sher Muhammad Khán probably.

‡ It must be remembered that he had, of his own accord, resigned the rule of the tribe previous to this.

§ The Sínís, which word is also written Sírnís, with Pus'hto "*rn*" for "*n*," by Afzal Khán, belong to the Bolák sept of the Khataks, and must not be confounded with the Tsínís of the Patíah Khel clan of the Ato Khel section of the Tarí sept of Khataks. Sín or Sírn, the progenitor of the Sínís or Sirnís, belonged to the Dilazák tribe of Karlární Afgháns or Pus'htúns, who came and took up his residence among the family of Bolák, whose son-in-law he became. He therefore continued to dwell among them, and his descendants were acknowledged as Khataks, with whom they have intermarried ever since, consequently they were and are, in reality, just as much Khataks as though their father had been one, and had married a Dilazák wife.

wrote to Daryá Khán, saying, 'It is well that you are coming down, and I have come 'to meet you.' My letter had scarcely been despatched, when information was given to the Afrídís stating that the Khaṭak forces were dispersing, and that I was on my way to him. This filled the Afrídís with doubts; and some of them began to disperse the same night. I came to the entrance of the Jammú Dara'h in order to go to Daryá Khán by that way, when, suddenly, the Afrídí forces were seen on their way back. On making inquiry, I was told by them that the Afrídís had dispersed to their homes, and that Daryá Khán was at Sandah Bastah.* I was amazed; and in the night sent my sons, Ṣadr, Sikandar, and Báz, who were with me, to summon the Mahmandí† men to come to me with all speed, as affairs were in a precarious state, and explaining all.

"It was quite necessary for me to go the next night to Daryá Khán, to pay him a visit of condolence on account of the disaster which had lately befallen him and the Afrídís. There is a rough Ghás'haey to cross in entering Jammú from this side, and, having crossed it, I came down to Sandah Bastah. It was raining at the time, the sun being in Taurus, and, drenched with wet, I went to him, pronounced the *fátiha'h* for the Afrídís,‡ and passed the night in his company in one of the villages. Next morning we held a *jirga'h*, and it was deemed advisable that I should retire, along with the Afrídís, into Tí-ráh. Taking leave of him, I came down to Tor Tsapar,§ and went into the Khwara'h. My families were at Nizám-púr, but, through the bad name [caused by this failure of the Kohát affair], I was unable to proceed thither to see my elder sons to consult with them. I sent for Gohar's mother, therefore, to join me, and passed eight or nine days at Tání; and sent off the mothers of Jalál, Sikandar, Gohar, and 'Ajab. The Afrídí families had also departed for Tí-ráh. In short, we set out, stage by stage, and proceeded thither, the Afrídís treating me in the most handsome manner, and, being delighted at my coming, feasted us at every stage.

"I stayed in Bára'h a fortnight among the Zakhah Khel and Aká Khel,‖ and entered Tí-ráh on the 1st of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, the third month; and the whole of the preceding month of Ṣafar of 1085 H. (May, 1674 A.D.) was passed proceeding on foot into Tí-ráh, having left the Khwara'h on the last day of Muḥarram—the first month of the year. I went by the way of Tand to Saidán.¶ The sun had entered Gemini; and the grain was not yet in ear, only green, as it comes into ear in the sign Cancer. The water of Tí-ráh during the whole of the rainy season [of India—the hot months or summer of these parts] continued as cold as ice, and we slept indoors all the time. During the four months that we passed in Tí-ráh the Afrídís entertained us in the same hospitable manner.

"Whilst here, the Yúsufzí Maliks wrote inviting me to come to them, saying that Aurang-zeb had recalled Rájah Jaswant Singh, that he had departed, and that if I would come they would do all I could desire. I had hinted to Daryá Khán and Ae-mal Khán certain matters, but no opportunity occurred for carrying them out; and, as I was unwilling to do anything without consulting them, I showed this communication from the Yúsufzís to them. Aurang-zeb was at Ḥasan-i-Abdál** at the time; and a Prince, with a large army, had set out in the direction of Bangas'h. We had still entertained the hope of assembling a force in the autumn to attack Kohát, but, the Bádsháh having arrived at Ḥasan-i-Abdál, and the army of the Prince having reached Bangas'h, our intention could not be carried out."††

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* *See* page 422.

† A subdivision of the Ato Khel Tarís. There is no division of the Khaṭaks called "Anu" or "Ano" Khel: it is a mere typographical error in one place in the text of Afẓal Khán's history, contained in *my* Gulshan-i-Roh, of انو for اتو, and also occurs in the original, but is subsequently corrected. *See* note *, page 400, paragraph last.

‡ The first *súrah* of the Ḳur'án, repeated when offering up prayers for the souls of the dead, and when paying visits of condolence to persons who have lost relatives.

§ This is the same word as occurs in Kábul Tsapar at page 181. It is turned into "Torsupper" in the maps, and into "Torsapar" by others.

‖ Afrídí clans dwelling in that part.

¶ Not "Sayyadan," as in the maps.

** Aurang-zeb reached Ḥasan-i-Abdál, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah of the Panj-áb, in the fourth month of 1085 H. (July, 1674 A.D.); and the Máhá-Rájah, Jaswant Singh, met him on his way thither, at Ráwal-Pindí, having, doubtless, come from his post of Thánah-dár of Jam-rúd, to lay before the Bádsháh the state of the Khaibar and the Afgháns of those parts. A few davs after, Águz Khán, who was considered the champion of the Mughals, and other officers were despatched to Pes'háwar from the camp, at the head of 5,000 horse, against the Afgháns of the Khaibar and Jam-rúd.

†† After the overthrow of the Mughal army at Gand-áb (*see* page 42), the aspect of affairs looked so serious, the Khaibar, Karappah, and Áb-Khána'h routes being all closed, that, in the sixth month of the same year, a few days after Aurang-zeb reached Ḥasan-i-Abdál, he appointed his son, Prince Muḥammad Akbar, with Asad Khán as his mentor, and eighteen other nobles and their troops, forming a considerable army, to march to

Such being the case, Khush-hál Khán set out for the country of the Yúsufzís; and, while there, wrote the heart-stirring poem, the first of his poems contained in my translation of Afghán poetry. As to his journey thither, he says:—"I first went "into the Bázár valley, and went from thence, by the Tsats-aobey route,* by the "*Kotal* or pass of that name, to Ḍhákah. The Mahmands appeared to me to be very "good people; and Nazr Muḥammad [the chief?] was a wonderful youth: I was "also much taken with Kamál Khán, his brother. The next day I set out by the "Pund-yálaey road, to the banks of the river of Kábul, and reached the lands of the "Mulá-gorís. They passed us over the river, but, in doing so, the horse on which "Jalál Khán rode was carried away by the force of the current. We passed the night "with the Mulá-gorís, and, next day, about one hundred Mulá-gorís escorted us by "the Palah and Chinda'h road to Ṭúṭí of the Utmán Khel Karlárnís. I had long "wished to become acquainted with these Karlárnís, and to gain their esteem, but "they appeared very uncouth, and were all like cowherds and shepherds."

Khush-hál, from thence, got among his own Khaṭak people settled to the north of the river of Kábul, and subsequently stayed for a long time among the Yúsufzís, but did not obtain the assistance they promised. He bewails, in the poem previously quoted, which he composed while in their country, their conduct, and says:—"Up to "the 6th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal—the fifth month—of the year 1086 H. [August, "1675 A.D.], on the side of the Khaibar, and at Kháfash, what brave deeds have been "performed by Ae-mal Khán and Daryá Khán! For several months Fidá'í Khán,† "the Mughal commander, with the whole army of Hind, has been encamped at Yalam

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Kábul by way of Koháṭ—the route through the Bangas'hát, or what is now known as the Kurma'h (*vul.* "Kuram" and "Kurram") route. Subsequent events, however, caused the order to be suspended, and finally countermanded.

* Tsats-aobey means, in Pus'hto, droppings of water from the eaves of a roof, also, the coping of a wall or eaves of a roof throwing off water. There is a village here; and the name is evidently derived from water leaking, gurgling, or dropping, from rocks or over a wall of rock.

By this, to the Afgháns, well known route, the Khaibar defile can be turned either from the eastern, or *from the western side.* An account of its being turned from the east will be found farther on; and the turning it from the west by Nádir Sháh, the Afshár, at the head of 12,000 men, when he surprised the Mughal forces under Náṣir Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár of the province, who, posted in front of Jam-rúd, imagined he had effectually secured the Khaibar, has been related at pages 38 and 39.

The native Indian historians of the Mughal dynasty, in their ignorance of the Pus'hto language, and inability to realize the sound of the Afghán letter "*ts*," writing from ear, invariably write the name of this *Kotal* and village incorrectly. They write it Sih-chobí, and Sih-jo-íah, thinking, evidently, that the first word in both instances stood for Tájzík *three*, that *chobí*, in the first, meant *wooden*, and, in the second, that the word *jo-íah* stood for a rivulet or stream.

The very same place is meant in the account of Mán Singh's advance into the Bázár Dara'h, which the Mughal historians invariably call Bázárak—the diminutive of Bázár—from Bísh-Bulák̤, related at page 46, and there it is written *Chár-jo-íah*, which signifies "four springs."

The Surveyors who, in 1879, accompanied General Tytler's column from Básaul on its way to the Bázár
valley (mentioned by Khush-ḥál above), on its way to meet the other column from Jam-rúd under General
Maude, which had already reached it, did not know what historic ground they were treading. Captain
E. P. Leach, R.E., who was with the first-mentioned column, gives, in the Survey Report for 1878–79, some
interesting details respecting it. He says (Report, page 44):—
"The 25th January was the day fixed for the general move upon *Bazar*, the first night's halt being at
Chunar [Chinár ?]. . . . . The next day a portion of the force advanced on *Kasaba* [the Ḳaṣba'h ?], a
small village three miles S.W. of *Chunar* [Chinár], camp being struck, and the baggage started for *Sisobi* at
the foot of the pass of the same name. *Kasaba* was found deserted, but its inmates opened fire from the
sides of a precipitous and pine-clad spur of the Sufed Koh immediately overhanging the valley. . . . .
"The hills as far as *Chenar* [Chunar before] were absolutely devoid of vegetation, and looking back over
the plain of Jelalabad, the higher ranges stood darkly out of what appeared to be a waste of sand, burying their
lower spurs and sloping gradually downward towards the Kabul river. . . . . From the Basawal side
[Básaul: Nádir Sháh advanced from Lower Bihár, and Mán Singh from Bísh-Bulák̤] the road to *Chenar*
[Chinár] lay through a deep and difficult gorge, but towards *Dakha* [Ḍhákah] it was easy and easily defensible.
Leaving *Chenar* [Chinár], a descent of about a mile into the bed of the *Tsitsobi* stream [the *kotal*, village,
and stream, all three are known by *one name*, 'the Tsats-aobey,' whereas Leach calls the village *Sisobi*] com-
pletely changed the scenery. A broad track along the bed of the river led up to the village. . . . . On
either side of the road the hills rose precipitously, a magnificent gorge under the hill called '*Tungheh*'
[Tangaey—which word signifies a gorge] being particularly striking. As the valley advanced the cliffs
receded, and round the village of *Tsitsobi* [*Sisobi* before] a certain extent of terraced cultivation formed a
contrast to the sombre colouring of the rocks in the background. . . . . The height by barometer was
3,750 feet.
"On the 27th, having the pass [the Tsats-aobey *Kotal*] to cross, an early start was made. The distance to
the foot was about a mile, still through cultivation, and then a stiff zig-zag ascent of 1,000 feet gained the
summit of the range. The view was magnificent. . . . . The height of the pass was approximately
4,800 feet."

† On the 7th of Rajab, the seventh month (October) of the previous year, Fidá'í Khán was appointed Ṣúbah-dár of the Kábul province; and Mahábat Khán was recalled, for reasons previously referred to, and his failing to pacify the Afgháns. A numerous and well equipped force was sent with Fidá'í Khán, and express instructions respecting the mode of crossing the different *kotals* or passes were furnished to him.

On the 27th of Sha'bán, the eighth month (November), Mahábat Khán reached Aurang-zeb's camp; and

"Guzar and at Jam-rúd; and he has made many efforts in that direction, and towards "Sher-Ghaṛ, and Jálí, indeed, on every side without result." He then proceeds to describe them; and among other matters, he says:—

"The Mughals, in their policy, took advantage of the inexperience of my eldest son, Ashraf;* and Fidá'í Khán despatched him, along with a Mughal force, against Sher-Ghaṛ of the Adam Khel Afrídís, by way of the Khwara'h. He thus smote his foot, as it were, with his own axe, in consenting to go against those very Afrídís who had preserved our honour."

But the Khaṭaks, including the Aoriá Khel† clan, dwelling nearest to the Adam Khels, and others, were not willing co-operators in the affair; and the result was, that the Mughals were overthrown, and a great number of them were killed, likewise a few Khaṭaks. The rout was so complete, that the Mughals were pursued as far as Khair-ábád. "The Almighty was merciful," writes Khush-ḥál, "for, had the affair "turned out otherwise, I should never have been able to hold up my head again, and "have had no place of shelter."

"On the very same day that Sher-Ghaṛ was assailed, another attempt was made by

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soon after was appointed to proceed against Bír Singh, son of the Rájah Pathal-dás. He died within a few weeks, at Aman-ábád, on the 4th of Shawwál of the same year (January, 1675 A.D.).

In Ramaẓán, the ninth month (December), Muḥammad Wafá was made Thánah-dár of the Ferry of Resa'í and of Koháṭ. At the same time, Muḥtashim Khán, the elder son of Shaikh Mír, was made Fowj-dár of Langar-Koṭ (north of the river of Kábul), and Multafit Khán was removed; and 'Ináyat Khán was made Fowj-dár of Khair-ábád in place of Mujáhid Khán removed.

News of the disaster at Kháfash or Khápash was received on the 27th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal (the third month of 1086 H.—May, 1675 A.D.); and, at the end of the month, the Bakhshí-ul-Mulk—Paymaster General—Sar-Buland Khán, and other nobles, with a force of 9,000 well equipped cavalry—nine is the lucky number among the Mughals (*see* "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note to page 1106)—were despatched from the Bádsháh's camp against the Afgháns, and Ághúz Khán was made Thánah-dár of Jalál-ábád. Several others were appointed at the same time, namely Hizabr Khán to Jagdálík; Firáḳ Khán to the Lamghánát; Allah-Dád Khán to Gharíb Khána'h (*see* page 40); and Khanjar Khán to the Bangas'hát.

* Ashraf Khán was then in favour, and the nominal head of his tribe, and the vassal of the Mughal government: hence he could scarcely have refused to accompany the force, for his tenure was very precarious.

† Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, begins his account of the Khaṭaks by telling us, that "The *ḳoms* of Mughalkí, Síní, "Aoriá Khel, and Dzalúzí, are not in reality of the Khaṭak tribe. A long time ago their progenitors, having "come among the Khaṭak tribe, took up their abode among them; and, having married with Khaṭaks, by "degrees became so mixed up with them, that *now* they are also called Khaṭaks." The above is *literal* from the 'Urdú text, but he does not tell us who or what they were. In the Translation of his book, or rather a portion of it, by Mr. H. Priestly, of the Bengal Civil Service, page 205, it is stated:—"The *Muglaki* "[for Mughalkí], *Samini* [for Síní], *Uriykhel* [for Aoriá Khel], and *Tsaluzai* [for Dzalúzí] clans are not of "real Khatak extraction, their progenitors being men of other races who intermarried with and joined "themselves to the Khatak, and whose descendants have since continued the connection." This may be called, therefore, an exceedingly *free* translation of Hai'át's book, which in the original contains errors enough. The Dangarzís are not mentioned in either.

Neither is it mentioned, in either original or translation, how it happens that no Aoriá Khel section or clan appears in the tables of descent given with each.

Plowden, on the other hand, in his translation of the Kalíd-i-Afghání, previously referred to, page 189, says, that the "*Oria-Khel* are a Khaṭak clan who live north of Cherát;" and he is quite correct.

MacGregor says, "The *Seni*, *Uria Khél*, and *Jalúzai* [the Mughalkí and Dangarzí are not mentioned], "are not Khataks. *Sen* is said to have been a Dalazák, who intermarried with a Khatak. The *Uria Khel* "are descended from a *woman* of another tribe who married a Khatak. The *Jalúzai* are said to be of *Khalíl* "descent. However, all these are *now* recognized as Khataks." This, as far as it goes, is pretty correct, except in the spelling of names.

According to Khush-ḥál Khán, chief of the Khaṭaks, whose authority can scarcely be disputed, these sections or clans were recognized as Khaṭaks, and, as shown above respecting the Aoriá Khel, some *four centuries* or more before "now."

As it is not desirable that such errors, as are contained in Hai'át Khán's statements in particular, should be passed over, I will just mention what Khush-ḥál says respecting the Aoriá Khel:—"A widow woman came "among the Ato Khel. With her was a boy, his name was Aoriá. This boy, Paṭaey [son of Ato] protected "[brought up]; and that woman, by the advice of his tribe, he gave in marriage to Mahmandaey [his "brother], and of her Soriá was born, whom [whose descendants] they *now* call Soriá Khel. The Aoriá Khel "are a good *ulús* [or clan], and are contained in the Paṭíah Khel [section of the Ato Khel. Hai'át always turns "the Paṭíah Khel into Baṭí Khel, and Ato into Ano, another great error]; and the Soriá Khel are [contained] "among the Mahmandís." Khush-ḥál does not *actually say* that Paṭaey gave the boy, Aoriá, a Khaṭak maiden in marriage, but that is certainly meant, and the probability is that it was a maiden of his own family, since Aoriá's descendants are reckoned among his clan.

Plowden is the only one who refers to the Aoriá Khel as a separate clan; and in the "Tables of Descent" given by the others, not the least mention is made of them.

Hai'át and MacGregor both state that the mother of Malik Akoṛ, great-grandfather of Khush-ḥál, was of the Aoriá Khel. Such being the case, *all* the Khaṭak chiefs are descended from her; and yet they assure us that the Aoriá Khel "*are not* Khaṭaks," and are only "*now*" so called! The Sínís, we are told, are not Khaṭaks, because a Dilazák, some four centuries since, married a Khaṭak woman, and his descendants have intermarried with Khaṭaks ever since; and, according to the same theory, the Aoriá Khel are not Khaṭaks because their mother *was* a Khaṭak: consequently, none of the chiefs of the Khaṭak tribe were Khaṭaks. This is ridiculous, because Afgháns of one tribe constantly married women of other tribes, and do so still. The mother of Ya'ḳúb Khán, ex-Amír of Kábul, was a Mahmand: therefore, according to such crude ideas, he is not a Bárakzí.

the Mughals from the side of Kohát by the Sandah Bastah route; and Sher Muhammad Khán, and the Bangas'h Karlárnís, subject to the Mughals, and also some vassal Afrídís, perforce, went with him. A battle took place in the direction of Ákhor, but there, likewise, the Mughals and their [unwilling?] allies were overthrown. After this, Fidá'í Khán moved from Yalam Guzar with two corps, by way of Báráh and the Dwah To-e, and entered the hills. The Wurakzís then submitted; and, at their suggestion, he abandoned the village of the Alúzís [thus giving up the attempt], and moved back to Jam-rúd. Just after, a mace-bearer from the Bádsháh arrived in his camp with peremptory orders for him 'to penetrate the Khaibar or die;' and all he had to do was to obey. He did so; and some Khaṭaks, Ghwaríah Khel [Khalíls, and Mahmands of the Pes'háwar district], Wurakzís, and a few Afrídís* [vassals of the Mughals], accompanied his army. Ae-mal Khán and Daryá Khán, Afrídís, had taken up a strong position in the Khaibar; and the Mughal army, and their Afghán allies, moved against them, but were repulsed with great loss, and had to retire. Fidá'í Khán had to make another attempt; and, at the advice of the Wurakzís, he proceeded towards Bázár;† and this day that I write this, the Mughals are in Nangnahár."‡

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* The Mughal authorities must have been very stupid to expect that Afgháns, even though feuds existed among themselves, would, willingly, aid in the destruction of their own people for the benefit of the Mughals, however little their patriotism may have been. The upshot proved it.

† This is the other route by which the Khaibar may be turned. Bázár is the name of a small village and dara'h, situated between 'Alí Masjid and the dara'h or valley of the Bára'h river. Fidá'í Khán's object was to turn the eastern side of the defile. During the first Afghán campaign it was proposed to send a force from the Pes'háwar side to punish the Afrídís of Bára'h and Bázár, which force was first to enter Bára'h, and then cross over—by the very route here referred to—into the Bázár valley, but, for some reason or other, it was never carried out. That the route is practicable is sufficiently apparent from Fidá'í Khán's attempt, but of which the British authorities were, of course, not cognizant. During the late campaign our Surveyors have had the opportunity of surveying it, and have, doubtless, availed themselves of it.

‡ To understand these references of Khush-ḥál's, and know how these events came about, we must refer to the Mughal accounts which confirm them, but they, as a matter of course, do not acknowledge any aid on the part of their Afghán allies, and conceal defeats as much as possible in bombastic language, while the Afghán begrudges them any success. I must, therefore, enter into a little detail here, even on the chance of being considered too prolix, because these events referred to by the Khaṭak chief are some of the most important and interesting in Afghán, as well as in Indian history, and throw some additional light on the geography of the parts in which they happened.

Aghúz Khán (Aghúz is the name of one of the most celebrated of the old Mughal patriarchs and kings, and he gave the names to the chief tribes. *See* "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣiri, page 876) having arrived at Pas'háur, whither he had been despatched in the fourth month of 1085 H., as already related, some Mahmand Afgháns, who remembered the chastisements they had received at his hands, made a night attack upon his force, but he, having obtained information of their intention, was prepared for them. He repulsed them, it is said, with considerable loss, slew some 300 horsemen, and carried off about 2,000 men, women, and children, besides cattle and other property, and returned to Pas'háur in triumph. No date is given, but it was at the time Khush-ḥál refers to, as we shall presently see.

The Bádsháh commanded Ághúz Khán to direct his efforts towards the Khaibar, and that Fidá'í Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, with other nobles serving under him at Pas'háur, should commence operations against the Afgháns of that part, and that Ághúz Khán should form the advance with his troops. We are then told that 40,000 [4,000, more probably] Afgháns attacked Ághúz Khán near 'Alí Masjid, but he was ready to receive them, and desperate fighting was the result. The two forces remained facing each other [and here Fidá'í Khán's whole force must be meant] for a considerable time, and in different positions. Both sides sustained great loss, both in killed and wounded; and Ághúz Khán was himself wounded during these operations.

Here we have the affair in which Ae-mal Khán and Daryá Khán repulsed the Mughals, as related by Khush-ḥál above.

The historian continues:—"At last, by the good fortune of the Bádsháh, the Afgháns were defeated, and "thousands of them [!] were slain. Ághúz Khán sent a report of his successes, with a number of Afghán "heads, to the Bádsháh's camp, together with a number of prisoners; and he received great praise." But here follows the result of these "victories." "Notwithstanding such efforts and labours on the part of Aghúz "Khán, *the road to Kábul remained closed against all comers and goers* between that place and Pas'háur, and "even the Ṣúbah-dár could not get to Kábul; but Ághúz Khán, acting as leader of the advance, by command "of the Bádsháh, proceeded by way of Bázárak and Sih-chobah. Fighting the whole way through [after "killing, according to their own account, more people than the whole of the Khaibar tribes contained], he "brought Fidá'í Khán to Jalál-ábád, which is the chief place in Nangnahár."

This Sih-chobah, sometimes written, as at page 38, para. 1 of these "Notes," Sih-jo-íah, is merely the way persons, unacquainted with the Pus'hto language, would, from ear, write Tsats-aoba'h, or correctly, Tsats-aobey, which route has been previously noticed at page 405.

Then it is stated that Fidá'í Khán left Ághúz Khán, with Sulṭán Murád, and Sulṭán Lashkarí, two Gakhar officers serving under him, with their contingents, and some Ráj-púts, in all 5,000 horse, to hold, and settle the affairs of, Nangnahár, which the Afgháns had got entire possession of, after which he himself moved from Bísh-Buláḳ towards Kábul, on the 7th of Rabí'-ul-Ákhir (the fourth month) of 1086 H. (July, 1675 A.D.). He

It was just before the events related above that the battle of Kháfash was fought, in which Shamsher Khán, one of the Mughal leaders, was slain by Daryá Khán himself, and the other, Mukarram Khán, was wounded, as related at page 115.

The next event respecting the Karlárnís of Bangas'h, mentioned by Khush-ḥál, happened in 1086 H. (1675–76 A.D.). He says :—

"In the year 1086 H. (began 17th March, 1675 A.D.), Sháh Beg,* Bangas'h Karlární, came to me with a *jirga'h* or deputation, and solicited that I should make up the feud between them [his clan or section of the Bangas'h Karlárnís] and the Sírnís [Khaṭaks], which I promised subsequently to do.† As he continued to send me letters, one after the other, about it, and advised me to attack Koháṭ in order to create a diversion for him, I accordingly wrote about it to Daryá Khán, Afrídí. He despatched his brother, Tátár Khán, to me, with the Maliks of the Aká Khel and Adam Khel; and I entertained them at Ráj-gaṛ,‡ to which place I had returned; and we held a *jirga'h* or council on the matter of attacking Koháṭ.

"The upshot was, that a force was organized, and we moved towards Kunḍ-yálaey.§ I was still at home when La'l Beg, Sa'íd Khán, and Khowáṣ, the Toghí, came and threw themselves on my protection,‖ and besought me, if I had the honour and welfare of Pus'htúns at heart, that we should [including themselves] 'drive out that 'Mughal,¶ who is there seated over us, and not let Afgháns ruin and destroy one 'another.'

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was so successful against the Afgháns (in reaching Kábul at all perhaps), that he was raised to the title of A'ẕam Khán-i-Kokah.

To show what sort of success this was, "news came soon after that Hizabr Khán, Thánah-dár of Jagdálík, "had been killed in an affair with the Afgháns, together with his son, and many other servants of the State; "that 'Abd-ullah Khán, Kheshkí [an Afghán of Hindústán], Thánah-dár of Bárík-Áb and Surkh-Áb, had been "obliged to evacuate his posts and march away, and that a great number of those along with him had been "killed or made captive."

Ághúz Khán is then said to have begun with "the Ghalzís, who are notorious as the worst of the Afgháns in "roughness and ferocity; and he fought several actions with them, and opened the road by Jagdálík to Kábul. "After this he took post at Gandamak. The Afgháns, finding themselves unable to meet him and his troops "day after day, assembled to the number of 30,000 or 40,000 [gross exaggeration], and fell upon him at night. "He was ready prepared for them; and the fighting continued until evening of the next day, at which time "the Afgháns were all [*sic*] killed, wounded, or put to flight."

Here follows a proof of the exaggeration on the part of the Mughal writers :—"Soon after, Fidá'í Khán, now "the A'ẕam Khán-i-Kokah, was desirous of moving from Kábul to Pas'háur, but the Afgháns, assembling in "great numbers, completely closed the route, and severe fights took place between them. Fidá'í Khán, "influenced by certain rivals of Ághúz Khán, would not avail himself of the latter's aid on this occasion. "Fidá'í Khán, making the chiefs of the 'Arabs and their tribesmen [*see* page 114], who are famous for their "bravery and courage, the van of his force, moved on from Jagdálík. After great efforts on their part, they "were repulsed; and the guns, elephants, baggage, stores, and other property, women, and camp followers, "fell into the hands of the enemy." How all these got with the *van* is not said. "The main body still "remained firm [after losing all the guns and elephants, etc. !]; and swift messengers were despatched to "Ághúz Khán for help. He came without loss of time; and at the crest of the Jagdálík *Kotal*, which is "famous as being one of the worst and most difficult passes in that part, and commanded by hills on either "side, a severe battle took place. Volleys of arrows and bullets were poured upon the Mughal forces, and "fragments of rock, sufficient to overturn elephants, were rolled down upon them. The Bádsháh's forces were "hard pressed, but, through the good arrangements of Ághúz Khán, the Afgháns were, at last, repulsed; and "Fidá'í Khán reached Jalál-ábád."

After this affair, according to orders received, arrangements were made for erecting small forts, at different points along the line of route, and stationing bodies of troops therein, to keep open the communications. These have been previously referred to in the account of the route between Kábul and Jalál-ábád at page 57.

* "Beg" occurring in the name of an Afghán appears strange, but it seems to be applied as a by-name There was another of this family called La'l *Beg*, mentioned farther on; and a Sháh *Beg*, Afrídí, at page 397.

† These events happened shortly after the Afghán victory at Kháfash. It is not at all clear how the Sírní Khaṭaks, in particular, fell out with the Bangas'h Karlárnís.

‡ Also called Ráj-gal, "*r*" and "*l*" being, at times, interchangeable. It is not in our maps.

§ Khunḍ-yálaey and Khuḍ-yálaey of the author of the surveys, and "Gundyalee" of the maps, and "Gandíálí" of MacGregor, and others. It is situated on a stream, which comes from the hills of the Adam Khel Afrídís, a tributary of the Kághzí or Koháṭ river. The tracts east of it are much cut up by ravines. *See* page 446.

‖ The Pus'hto word is "*nanawáta'h*," which signifies "taking refuge or sanctuary in the house of another, "and refusing to eat or drink until one's request be complied with, to which it is considered a point of "honour to accede," also "taking refuge," "shelter," or "asylum." La'l Beg was Sher Muḥammad Khán's uncle.

¶ It is probable that the nickname of Beg was applied to them because they were in Mughal pay, for "that Mughal" here no doubt refers to a vassal of, or one in the pay of, the Mughal government, and not to one of that nation. It may possibly refer to Sher Muḥammad Khán, otherwise, what had become of him in the meantime does not appear. Khush-ḥál's account is not quite clear through leaving out what might have been well known to him, but not to us, namely, what connection existed between them. It may be that the Mughal Fowj-dár of Bangas'h is referred to.

"When I reached Kunḍ-yálaey, I despatched a horseman to Sháh Beg, to inform him that his accusers were there present, and that he should come likewise, and I would then do what he wished. A night passed, and still he did not appear. Having let another night pass, I again sent a message to him, but the stubborn frequenter of bázárs, instead of coming himself, wrote to say that, if I would kill La'l Beg, Sa'íd Khán, and others, who had come to me, and move towards Koháṭ, he would join me before that place with all his followers, that we would take the place, and put the Ḥájí, 'Abd-ullah,* to death likewise, but that he could not come to me while his enemies were present, as he might, himself, be put to death.

"This conduct on his part enraged me greatly; and I summoned the Afrídí *jirga'h*, and read to them the letters of Sháh Beg. They, likewise, took his conduct in bad part, and agreed to abide by my wishes, and act as I might deem best. On this, giving them all possible encouragement and assurance, we dismissed La'l Beg, and the others who had accompanied him, having first given them Sháh Beg's letter to read, upon which they said, that, if they were true men, they ought never to forget my kindness towards them in this affair; for that Koháṭ, as it were, had been taken from them, and I had restored it to them again.

"They returned home, and we to Da Ghoríahzío Tol.† I determined to open a road here [between the place above mentioned, over the hills to the east, leading to the ferries over the Indus], and I left Aṣaf Khán as Dároghah, or Superintendent, and assigned the making of it to a portion of the Marozí Sínís. I then returned home [to Ráj-gaṛ] by the Ṭínal Ghás'haey."‡

The extracts given, up to this point, have been taken from Khush-ḥál Khán's own Diary, and those following are related by his grandson, Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, who says that:—"After some fighting, in concert with the Yúsufzís against the Mughals, north of the river of Kábul, Khush-ḥál led a body of his tribe against Sher Muḥammad Khán of Koháṭ. He first moved against Kunḍ-yálaey; and Sher Khán, having written letters to, and begun intriguing with, the false Sínís and Múshaks, gained them over, and they deserted Khush-ḥál. Not to lose others by desertion through longer delay, he advanced towards Gumbata'h to attack the position of Sher Khán, while rain was falling, through the mud and mire, and his men soaked with wet. Sher Khán and his followers, emboldened by the desertion of the Sínís and Múshaks, came forth to meet the Khaṭaks, who, after some fighting, were repulsed with the loss of 160 men, and Khush-ḥál was himself wounded in the head. After this serious reverse he retired into Tsautara'h.

"About this time Fidá'í Khán was recalled, and the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, at the head of an army, and along with him, Amír Khán, son of Khalíl-ullah Khán, was despatched towards Kábul.§ Amír Khán, on his arrival at Pas'háur, wrote to Khush-ḥál Khán, saying that the Prince was come to make peace with the Afgháns, and asked him to present himself. As Khush-ḥál, when in exile in Hind, had experienced kindness at the hands of Khalíl-ullah Khán, and his sons, Iṣálat, and Amír, he came up from Tsautara'h to Pas'háur to wait on the Prince, on receipt of a safe conduct from the latter, and from Rájah Jaswant Sing; and Iftikhár Khán, who, in 1087 H. (1676 A.D.), had been made Fowj-dár of the Bangas'hát, was sent to Afẓal-ábád to induce him to come. After that he went on to Gharíb Khána'h, where Amír Khán then was, and had an interview with him also. The Prince offered

* There is a Kaṛlární Áfghán named 'Abd-ullah, mentioned farther on, at page 418, but not styled a Ḥájí.

† "Ghorizai" of the maps, and "Górázái" of MacGregor, another specimen, among hundreds, of how incorrectly names of places have hitherto been written.

‡ A pass on the route into the Jz'wákí Adam Khel Afrídí territory to the north of Kunḍ-yálaey. It is written thus in the original.

§ Aurang-zeb left Ḥasan-i-Abdál for Láhor in the tenth month of 1086 H. (December, 1675). On the 17th of Sha'bán, 1087 H. (October, 1676), the Sháh-Zádah, Muḥammad Muaẓẓam, was raised to the title of Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, and appointed to command a large army, and a train of artillery, with a large amount of treasure, for service in the province of Kábul, and this is what Khush-ḥál refers to. The Amír Khán here mentioned is a totally different person from the Sayyid, Amír Khán, who sent Khush-ḥál a captive to the Bádsháh's presence; for he died many years before, as already noticed. Khush-ḥál is not quite correct as to Fidá'í Khán's removal, for it was not until the 24th of Muḥarram, the first month of the next year, 1088 H. (middle of March, 1677 A.D.), that, at the recommendation of Sháh-í-'Álam, Bahádur, the A'ẓam Khán-i-Kokah (*i.e.*, Fidá'í Khán) was removed, and Amír Khán appointed Ṣúbah-dár, but the latter accompanied the Prince, and served under him as Khush-ḥál mentions. They reached Kábul in the middle of the sixth month of 1088 H. (August, 1677 A.D.), and Khush-ḥál's interviews with them must have taken place at the end of July, or very early in August. Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, at the end of 1088 H., returned to Court, and, on the 14th of Sha'bán, the eighth month of 1089 H. (September, 1678 A.D.), it was reported to the Bádsháh that the Ṣúbah-dár, Amír Khán, had reached Kábul, the seat of government of his province, in the preceding Rabí'-ul Ákhír (May).

Khush-ḥál service [so he says], and the rank of commander of 2,000 horse, but he refused to serve Aurang-zeb,* his father, but promised, if the Prince came to the throne, to serve him, even in his old age. After this, Khush-ḥál retired to Niẓám-púr, and there took up his residence, and built a dwelling-house for himself. The *maḥáll* or district of Tarí Boláḳ, as promised by Amír Khán at the time, was subsequently conferred upon him (in 1088 H.—1677 A.D.), but, as Ashraf, his eldest son, was then the Sar-dár or head of the tribe, that *maḥáll* was assigned to him.†

"At this time, the Sayyid, Aḥmad, brother of Sháhámat Khán, who was the then Fowj-dár of the Bangas'hát, was holding Tarí Boláḳ; and he had a Thánah or post at the Tápí of Angú. He may have possibly delayed a little in evacuating it, on which the Maḥmandí Khaṭaks [with true Afghán perversity] attacked it, slew some of Aḥmad's people, ousted the others, and deprived them of their arms and horses. On this, Khush-ḥál, who was still restless, although he, by his own act, had made his son, Ashraf, Sar-dár of the tribe, must needs call upon the *jirga'hs* (notables, head-men) of Tsautara'h and Tarí Boláḳ, and without consulting Ashraf in the matter, to meet him at S'hádí-púr. He then proceeded into that *maḥáll* with some of his younger sons, took post at Bút, and commenced throwing up breastworks. This produced anger between father and son, as Ashraf was *Jagír-dár* as well as Sar-dár.‡ He came likewise, and took possession of Láchí; and, as before stated, there was a feud between the Khaṭaks and Afgháns of Bangas'h.

"As soon as the Prince and Amír Khán returned from Kábul (to Pas'háur), Sher Muḥammad Khán presented himself before them (to complain); and Khush-ḥál, with his followers, the fighting men of Tarí Boláḳ, moved to the Takht of Khúr-múr [a strong position about half way between Láchí and the Tíraey To-e]."

Ashraf Khán, the Sar-dár of the Khaṭaks,§ summoned his son, Afẓal (the author from whom these extracts are taken), with the Khaṭaks of Saráe and country round, to assemble at S'hádí-púr; and the first places they were sent against were the S'hádí Khel villages of Bangas'h. He says:—"Three small forts were taken, the men "killed, and the women and children made captive. The remainder of the S'hádí "Khel clan were in the strong fort of Ḍoda'h,‖ in which was a small post of Malik-"Mírí Karlárnís of Kohát, likewise Púrá, the trusted slave of Sher Muḥammad Khán "[head of the Malik-Mírís]. The commanders of these tribesmen were Ḥájí 'Umar, "'Ináyat, and others. In all, there were 130 Malik-Mírí horsemen. These were "invested in the fort by the Khaṭaks; and, shortly after, were reduced to such straits "[through this unexpected attack upon them], that 'Ináyat, the Malik-Mírí, was "sent out to seek for terms of surrender. By this time, some of the Khaṭaks had "crept up close to the fort walls; and those within [no terms having been agreed to "as yet] fired upon them to keep them off, when the Khaṭaks made a rush, in which "'Ináyat, who was coming out, was killed [by mistake, possibly], and captured the "place, which was stronger than Koháṭ. In this affair 160 men were killed, and the "rest were made captive, but the principal persons among them were shortly after "again set at liberty. Great booty was also taken. It was in this affair, which took "place when the sun was in Leo, in 1091 H. (1680 A.D.), that Ṣadr Khán¶ first used "a spear, and greatly distinguished himself."

Not long after this—but in the same year, according to Afẓal Khán—Lashkarí Khán, the Gakhar, who was Fowj-dár of Bangas'h, turned the Malik-Mírís out of Koháṭ,** by force; and they, unable any longer to dwell in that part, took up their quarters in the lands of the Khaṭaks of Gumbata'h. Ashraf Khán, on this, directed his son, Afẓal, to conduct these Malik-Mírís to Khair-ábád, by S'hádí-púr and the Níl-áb district. Subsequently, Khush-ḥál's own acts brought about further misunderstanding between him and his son, Ashraf. Most of the Tarí Boláḳ Khaṭaks took Ashraf's side; and a deputation of them waited on the old Khán, and told him that they would be ruined in this enmity between father and son, and begged him to return to Niẓám-púr, and there settle their differences; and he withdrew in high dudgeon.

* After being "dismissed with honour," and "*on the King's own horse.*" How ungrateful!

† See page 412. This man's son subsequently seized Ashraf Khán.

‡ He was therefore alone responsible to the Mughal government for the acts of his tribe. Tarí Boláḳ was an imperial *jágír*.

§ Ashraf Khán was then forty-six years old.

‖ Ḍhoḍha'h, mentioned at page 379. Afgháns often reject the "*h*" in the Hindí letters "*dh*," "*jh*," "*th*," etc.

¶ Son of Khush-ḥál, and author of the very popular poem of Adam and Durkhána'í, a Díwán, and other poetry.

** A portion only, from what follows. Those residing in, and close to, Koháṭ, but, even then, all could not have been expelled, since they were invested in the Bálá Ḥiṣár or Citadel of Koháṭ soon after.

After some time, the Malik-Mírís of Koháṭ and Tarín Khán the (then) Fowj-dár, came to loggerheads. They reduced him to great straits; and Amír Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, directed Ashraf Khán, as a feudatory, to move to Tarín Khán's aid. He appears to have come by way of Shiga'h,* two kuroh from Niẓám-púr, from Khair-ábád probably, and moved by the Níl-áb Ghás'haey or Pass to Gumbata'h, at the head of a considerable force.

At this place the original MS. is displaced, and suddenly breaks off, as in many other instances, but the following, from another place, supplies the particulars.

"Some of the other Bangas'h Afgháns,† and some Afrídís, and Wurakzís, who were Mughalís [that is, in the pay of, and feudatories of, the Mughals], came as a deputation to my father, and complained of the overbearing conduct of the Malik-Mírís, and that they had no means of withstanding them. They urged that they, the Malik-Mírís, were [by feud] his enemies, and that now was the opportunity, and if he would come they might be put to the sword. He told them, in reply, to leave their lines of intrenchment, and return to their quarters, and leave him to deal with them; and the Mughalí Afgháns did so. The Malik-Mírís, who were always at loggerheads with Tarín Khán, were then in the Bálá Ḥiṣár [of Koháṭ] with their families, and were invested therein. Arrived in the intrenchments with his men, Ashraf Khán directed them to show themselves to those within the place, when the Malik-Mírís discharged some *báns* or rockets among them, but, as the Khaṭaks were close up to the walls, the *báns* passed harmlessly over them. Next morning the Khaṭaks engaged the Malik-Mírís, who now became humble, and sought terms of capitulation. They entreated him, as a Khaṭak and a Karlární Afghán, not to ruin them, and to abandon both Mughals and Mughalí Afgháns. Although the Malik-Mírís were enemies of long standing, nevertheless, my father, looking to his own reputation and good name, agreed to let them throw themselves upon his protection.‡ He also considered that, although old enemies, still, upon occasion, in case of Amír Khán acting hostilely towards himself, these Malik-Mírís might aid him; whereas, if he put them to death, Amír Khán would only be too well pleased; so, of the two, he rather chose the chance of the Ṣúbah-dár's enmity. La'l Beg, the uncle of Sher Muḥammad Khán, came accordingly, at night, and met Ashraf Khán at the Sharíf Garden of Koháṭ, where his quarters were; and Malik Mián, of the Ḥasan Khel clan of the Malik-Mírís, came out into the intrenchments, and they were admitted to quarter. Ashraf Khán sent these Bangas'h people, with their families, and all their property and effects, to Shiga'h,§ above Mahkaḍ; and there they took up their quarters. He rendered them all possible assistance, made over his own baggage cattle to them, and obtained as many others as he possibly could, to convey their property on the way thither. He likewise directed his followers to repel by force any attempt of the Mughals or Mughalí Afgháns to interfere with or molest the Malik-Mírís. His forces being the more numerous, the others were overawed, and made no attempt to molest them. Ashraf Khán also sent them money, and cattle, for their subsistence. Sher Muḥammad Khán [the head of the Malik-Mírís] was in Hindústán when these events happened; and the Malik-Mírís wrote to him, giving an account of what Ashraf had done for them. Tarín Khán, the Fowj-dár, on the other hand, reported how Ashraf, who had been sent to *aid* him, had acted; and further, that he had assigned the Malik-Mírís lands in his own district."

Here was an open act of hostility; and Amír Khán was greatly incensed. These events happened towards the close of 1091 H. (1680 A.D.); and, not long after, Ashraf Khán gave shelter to one Ázád, a Gagyání, a connexion of his own, who had deserted Amír Khán. Ázád, with Ashraf's aid, got away into the Yúsufzí country, and from thence made a raid into the Do-Ábah; and, subsequently, with the connivance of Ibráhím Khán, son of 'Alí Mardán Khán (who betrayed Ḳandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán), who was despatched from Pes'háwar with troops to strengthen the Mughal forces in the country of the Yúzufzís, Ázád got away into Hindústán; for no vows or promises on the part of Amír Khán would induce him to place any faith in him. All this was considered the doings of Ashraf Khán. In the first year of Amír Khán's coming with the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, the former wished to proceed to Kábul by the Bangas'h route, because of the Afgháns of the Khaibar, as he desired

* Turned into "Shuggai" in the maps.
† Bá'ízís and Kághzís.
‡ See note ||, page 408.
§ See page 435.

not to be under any obligation to them for a passage through.* He consulted Ashraf about it; and he advised the route (from Pes'háwar) by Ákhor and Koháṭ—the Sanḍah Bastah road. He then wanted Ashraf to accompany him, and to take his followers into pay. This, in the disturbed state of his own country, and with the seditious parties among his own family, Ashraf did not deem prudent to consent to, and Amír Khán was much displeased thereat. Ashraf was, however, so very unwise as to send his brother, Bahrám, with a few horsemen, instead; and he, finding the opportunity, undermined his elder brother in Amír Khán's opinion. The latter subsequently wrote to the Bádsháh, complaining of the Afgháns of the Khaibar,† and sought permission to make Jalál-ábád his winter quarters instead of Pes'háwar, as had hitherto been customary; and he was told that he was Ṣúbah-dár, and could act as he deemed advisable. He likewise complained of Ashraf's conduct, and received the same reply. On this, Amír Khán issued an order to the Rájah, Rám Singh, commanding the Mughal troops at Jam-rúd, to seize him. He declined to do so, and sent to warn Ashraf to be on his guard. Then Amír Khán directed the Sayyid, Bhúlá, son of Sháhámat Khán,‡ at Pes'háwar, to do so by some means or other. This was at the end of Taurus or beginning of Gemini, 1092 H. (1681 A.D.). Ashraf was *invited* to come to Pes'háwar, and, having no disloyal feeling in his heart, went. He was treacherously seized, and sent away a captive into Hindústán.§ His brother, Bahrám, who was quite prepared for the plot, along with the Fowj-dár of Langar-Koṭ, and a body of Mughal troops, at once moved to attack Saráe; and Afẓal Khán, Ashraf's son (who relates these events in greater detail than I can find space for here), had barely time to fly with the family, and take to the mountains.

Subsequently, Khush-ḥál Khán abandoned S'hádí-púr as a residence; and removed the fugitive Malik-Míríṡ, who had been located at and around Shiga'h by Ashraf, up to Tsamúzí.

After the imprisonment of Ashraf, the affairs of the Khaṭak tribe continued in a terrible state of confusion, which was fomented and fanned by the Mughals for many years, for the purpose of weakening the tribe, as has been already mentioned in the account of the Karlárnís.

In 1095 H. (1694 A.D.), Afẓal Khán, who now acted as head of the tribe, though all did not acknowledge him, and performed the duties of protecting the royal road from Khair-ábád to Noh-s'hahra'h, for which duty they held that tract in fief, had again to abandon his country. A considerable sum of money was demanded of him by the Mughal officials at Pes'háwar; and he was threatened, if he did not pay up, that Bahrám Khán should be taken into favour. He therefore took to the hills once more; and great disorders among the tribes around followed; property to the value of several *lákhs* of rúpís was plundered; and the road from Aṭak to Pes'háwar was closed.

Afẓal Khán says:—"Rájah Rám Singh having become Fowj-dár of Kohát and Bangas'h [about 1096 H. (1685 A.D.)], I had gone up to Khwaṛama'h, when I heard of 'Ábid Khán's late movement against Bágh of the Awáns. He was then at Láchí; and through Sa'd-ullah, the Malik-Mírí, 'Ábid|| had an interview with the Rájah, and

* At least, Amír Khán did not wish the Prince to know that it depended on the Afgháns whether his way by the Khaibar was stopped or not. He soon, however, became better acquainted with their ways, to his cost, as I have already shown.

† Their extortionate demands for a safe passage he meant.

‡ This Sháhámat Khán, it must be remembered, was the brother of the Sayyid, Aḥmad, whom the Mahmandí Khaṭaks so unceremoniously ousted from the post at the Ṭápí of Ángú, killing some of his men, and disarming others, as related at page 410.

§ This was not the first time he had been seized and imprisoned. The first time he came among the Mughals after his father had been sent to Hindústán he was seized, and was only released on Dilír-Himmat Khán, son of Bahádur Khán (whose father, Daryá Khán, supported Khán-i-Jahán, Lodí) becoming surety for him.

Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar's account of Ashraf's seizure is almost as amusing as some of his other statements. He says, "Káká Ṣáhib's son, Ẓíá-ud-Dín [turned into *Zuja*-ud-din, in the "Translation" of his book], having "aided Bahrám Khán [against his father and brother], for this reason Ashraf Khán imprisoned Ẓíá-ud-Dín. "Through this cause Aurang-zeb, having become displeased, imprisoned Ashraf Khán," etc. Who "Káká Ṣáhib" was, the author does not consider it necessary to tell his readers.

MacGregor, who quotes "Hyát Khán," says, "Instigated by *Zainúldin* [for Ẓíá-ud-Dín, which has a "meaning, while the other is nothing], son of Káká Sahib, Bahrám Khán *attempted to usurp* his brother "Ashraf Khán's place, but the latter, becoming cognizant of the plot, imprisoned *Zainúldin*. For this act he "was called to account by the Emperor *Arangzeb*" (*sic*), etc.

The version given by Ashraf's *own son* is as I have rendered it above. There were many others equally as bad as Bahrám himself, but he was an open enemy, and they were secret ones; and sometimes even the old Khán favoured Bahrám.

|| 'Ábid Khán was a son of Khush-ḥál, and uncle of Afẓal. His father, in one of his poems, calls him "an undutiful son." *See* also note †, page 377.

presented him with two falcons and a hawk as *pesh-kash*, and received a dress of honour from him. The *Maháll* of Tarí Bolák was included in the Rájah's *jágír;* and he sent forces of his own to Láchí, and despatched 'Ábid along with them. As soon as he got there he advised the Sírnís to abandon Láchí, with their families, and retire to the hills, which they did. He then wrote and besought me to come to his aid with all the disposable forces of Khwarama'h, otherwise his family would fall into Rám Singh's hands, and he himself be made captive. For the sake of the family honour I came, but he was in the Láchí hills; and, on my coming, the Rájah's men withdrew for about the distance of a kuroh, and entered the dilapidated fort of Láchí. My only object in coming was to save 'Ábid and his family: so I now returned to Toda'h Chína'h.* 'Ábid left me to return to Khwarama'h; and I passed the night at Ghúrzandaey,† and had but a few horsemen with me. There was a village of the Dar Maliks [a branch of the Bolák Khaṭaks] above us; and we were on the Láchí side of Ghúrzandaey. Some of these Dar Maliks went the same night, and told the Rájah's men that I was in the vicinity with only fifty men with me, and that, if they mounted quickly, I should fly, and the families would fall into their hands.‡ They did so, and came upon me quite unawares. It was the early forenoon; and I had no one on the watch, but the horses stood ready saddled, and we mounted. Kásimaey, a Shápí Khel, was frightened, and so overcome with nervousness [at the surprise?] that he was totally unable to mount his horse to follow us, and was, in consequence, then and there killed. A horseman of the Rájah's men got ahead of the rest, and some of our party turned to face him; and Shamsher Khán§ made a cut at him with his sword, which broke upon him, upon which the man retired towards his party again.

"After that we were no further molested, and continued our journey. I stayed with a Khwarama'h family of Chakhtú‖ of the Sírnís, and remained some nights. 'Ábid, with his family, went to the Ságharís, to the Shakar Dara'h; and I went to Shísham, the dwelling of Atash, the Mátí Khel, and there took up my quarters for a time, after which I proceeded by way of Kaṛak of Khwarama'h into Tsautara'h."¶

Afẓal Khán was biding his time, and living among some one or other of the Khaṭak clans, out of the reach of the Mughals and Bahrám, his father's rival and unnatural brother, while Amír Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, was playing him and other members of the family off one against the other. The old chief, Khus'h-ḥál, died in the fourth month of 1099 H. (January, 1688 A.D.), after which Afẓal appears—for the original MS. is defective in many places—to have attended upon the Ṣúbah-dár for a long time, in expectation of being put in possession of the rights of his exiled father, of which Bahrám then held a good portion. After this, Amír Khán entered upon his unsuccessful war against the Ghalzí Afgháns; and he asked Afẓal to take service with him, which he declined to do against Afgháns. Three years passed away, and the Ghalzí war ended disastrously. In 1103 H. (1691-92 A.D.), Afẓal obtained leave to proceed into Tí-ráh for a time; and, soon after, Amír Khán, disgusted with Bahrám's acts, determined upon reinstating Afẓal Khán in some portion, at least, of his father's *jágír*. Once more, in the second month of 1104 H. (October, 1692 A.D.), he entered Noh-s'hahr,** and began to exercise himself in the settlement of the affairs of the tribe, and the care of the high road from Khair-ábád to Noh-s'hahr.

"When on my way to Noh-s'hahr from Langar-Koṭ," he says, "I despatched Khálid Khán to Kohát to the Malik-Mírís; and requested him likewise to send for 'Ábid Khán, who was then in Tsautara'h on the part of Bahrám, and Ṣadr Khán, who was Fowj-dár of Láchí [on his part likewise]—who, through fear of him, were unable [so they said] to come to me—to occupy Da A'zízo Ṭol, so that, in case Bahrám should

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* The Hot Spring, in Pus'hto.

† "Ghirzundi" of the maps, west of Láchí.

‡ This is a specimen of the state of the Khaṭak tribe at this period—men of his own tribe actually trying to betray their chief to the Mughals.

§ Another son of Khush-ḥál.

‖ "Chokktú" is incorrect.

¶ "Chaontra" is totally incorrect, and no Khaṭak would recognize the place from such a name. "*Tsávantrá*" is a little nearer the mark, but the above is the way in which the Khaṭaks write and pronounce it. Inflected it becomes Tsautarey. Kaṛak is a large village of the Khaṭaks on the banks of the Tarkhah Khwaṛ, at the western entrance into the Tsautara'h Dara'h from Bannú.

Tsautara'h is chiefly inhabited by the Bárak division of the Paṭíah Khel section of the Tarí Khaṭaks. They are subdivided into Land and Újzd, the first signifying in Pus'hto, "stumpy," "short," "curt," "small," "little;" and the last, the exact opposite, "long," "elongated," "lengthy," etc. The feminine forms of the word are *landa'h* and *újzda'h*; such words as "*lánd*" for short, and "*oozjhdoo*" and "*uzshdáh*" for long, which names they are called by in MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. I., are unknown in the Pus'hto language.

** Also called Noh-s'hahra'h; the two modes of writing are used indiscriminately.

attempt to pass that way, they should not spare themselves in attacking him, and plundering him to the best of their ability. 'Ábid Khán came as desired, but Sadr Khán went off and joined Bahrám. Khálid and 'Ábid subsequently came and joined my force at S'hádí-púr.

"Bahrám, however, again made head, and took into his pay 500 Sunbal and 'Ísá Khel Níázís; and numbers of Bannú Shítaks, Dawars, and Wazíris,* joined him. He then took up his quarters at Búṭ, and despatched Ṣadr Khán, with part of his followers, to burn S'hádí-púr. Although I was without the means of doing so conveniently, I was obliged to assemble a force in 1105 H. (1693–94 A.D.). I marched to Láchí; and the forces of Bangas'h [Afgháns of Bangas'h—Malik-Míris and others] came to my aid.† Bahrám detached some of his followers from Búṭ to Karah-pah,‡ and took possession. We passed the night at Láchí, and were about to fall upon him next morning, when he evacuated Karah-pah, and again fell back upon Búṭ, subsequently abandoning that likewise, and retiring into Tsautara'h. We moved to Búṭ, which I occupied; burnt down Bahrám's house there; left a small force; and set out to return to Saráe, expecting that the Sírnís of Láchí, and the Bangas'h forces, would aid them if they required assistance. Soon after, finding the coast clear, Bahrám sent 400 or 500 horsemen, with Ṣadr Khán, to occupy Láchí. My post, and the Sírní people, unable to hold out against them, and none of the Bangas'h forces coming to their support, retired to Ziyáṛ Guzar. With all I could do, I could not get the men of my post to stay, neither would they, nor the Sírnís, return to it, even with a force along with them; and so, leaving the Sírní families at Ziyáṛ Guzar, I was obliged to leave Láchí § a waste."

Ashraf Khán, his father, having died a state prisoner in the fortress of Bíjá-púr in Southern India in 1106 H. (began 11th August, 1694 A.D.), the chieftain-ship of the Khaṭak tribe naturally devolved upon Afẓal Khán. Bahrám, too, having no money for them, was abandoned by his fickle supporters; and he, soon after, left Tsautara'h and retired into Bannú, thinking to be treated better there. He was not favourably received by the Bannútsís, and returned to Tsautara'h for a time, and then went to the Afrídís in Jammú, and subsequently to the Afrídís of Borí.

After these events, Afẓal Khán went to Kábul along with Náṣir Khán, who, at that time, was Thánah-dár of Jam-rúd, who, when he afterwards became Ṣúbah-dár of the province, was Afẓal's staunch friend. He went, on this occasion, at Amír Khán's request, who appears himself to have been ill at the time. After Afẓal returned from thence, one 'Abd-ul-Hádí, a son of Iftikhár Khán, an incapable fellow, was appointed Fowj-dár of Bangas'h, and the royal *jágír* of Tarí Bolák [which went generally, as before mentioned, with the Fowj-dár-ship of that part] was transferred from Afẓal's charge to him. "Bahrám considered this a favourable time to bestir himself," says Afẓal, "after I had been thus treated; and, through the interest of this same 'Abd-ul-"Hádí, he proceeded to Jalál-ábád to present himself to the Ṣúbah-dár. Amír Khán "was very ill at this time; and it was the period for him to return to Kábul for "summer quarters, but he died on reaching Nímla'h, as elsewhere narrated.|| Bahrám "had followed in the direction of Kábul, and had reached the Kabr-i-Jabbár,¶ when, "hearing the report of his death, [and knowing great confusion would follow], he made "for Borí of the Afrídís. From thence he sent to Pas'háur, offering to take into pay "all the 'Arabs** and Mughals who were there unemployed, and the Adam Khel "Afrídís. This having done, he set out against me. I was quite prepared for him;

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* All three Karlární tribes.

† Thus proving that they had not forgotten his father's interference in their behalf.

‡ Neither of these places appear in our maps.

§ He refers to the *maḥáll* or district of Tarí Bolák, of which the large village of Láchí is the chief place.

|| *See* page 445. He died, according to the Ma'áṣir-i-'Álam-gírí, on the 27th Shawwál, 1109 H. (May, 1698 A.D.); and Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was directed by his father to assume the government. The Ma'áṣir says that Aurang-zeb was satisfied as long as Amír Khán was Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, because he was a man of intellect, probity, and piety. Yaḥyá Khán, in the Tazkirat-ul-Mulúk, says that, "immediately on hearing of "the death of Amír Khán, the Prince, Sháh-i'Álam Bahádur, resolved to undertake the responsibility of "assuming the government of the province of Kábul with all promptness,"—thus confirming Afẓal Khán's account, which follows,—"taking his two sons, Rafí'-ud-Daraját and Khujistah Akhtar, along with him. He "reported to his father what he had done, stating that 'he did not consider it advisable to leave that important "'province without a ruler; and he hoped his father would forgive him for acting without his orders.' His "father's reply was, 'Bábá, you have acted right well. You have acted according to the dictates of statesman-"'ship. Continue there, and administer the affairs with full control and authority: govern the Ṣúbah to the "'best of your power and ability, and depend upon my support.'"

¶ *See* page 59.

** *See* page 116.

" and moved from Saráe with my followers towards the Dzalúzí village, where he then
" was, and took post at Safed Khák. He was then in Borí, at the door of the Afrídís,
" but he was soon deserted by all but a few followers.

"The Maliks of the Adam Khel Afrídís now came to me, and said what a great " mistake they had made in sheltering and aiding him, that they were sorry for it, " and offered to send him away. I was quite willing that they should interpose " between us; and I despatched two trustworthy persons of my own, and, in their " presence, the Adam Khel Maliks sent Bahrám away." It was after this that Bahrám's supporters were defeated as related at page 436.

At the time of Amír Khán's death, the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was Ṣúbah-dár of the extensive and important province of Multán;* and, on account of his father being then occupied in carrying on the war in southern India, he, without waiting for orders, thought it his duty to set out and assume the government of that of Kábul. He crossed the Indus at Aṭak, by a bridge of boats, early in 1112 H. (1701 A.D.); and it was after this that Bahrám sought to ingratiate himself with the Prince by promising to put him in possession of Bannú and Dawar, and so grossly deceived him, as previously narrated.† Bahrám was subsequently seized, imprisoned, and taken to Kábul in a *kajáwa'h*.

A new character now appears upon the scene, but, unfortunately, Afẓal Khán does not give us his antecedents. He says, "Ismá'íl Khán, of the Afghans of Bangas'h, " when Bahrám was seized and taken away to Kábul, made his escape and took " shelter with the Bar Khel [Karlárnís of Bangas'h],‡ and commenced fomenting dis- " turbances against the Fowj-dár of that district. Bahrám, likewise, after he had been " brought to Kábul, managed to escape, and made his way into the country of the " Ghalzís; then he got into Bangas'h, and reached Tíraey Tsautara'h, where he " began to brew fresh troubles."§

The Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, directed Afẓal Khán to chastise both rebels, and to take possession of the *maḥáll* of Tarí Bolák. On this becoming known, Bahrám fled somewhere or other, and Ismá'íl Khán fled from Nara'í-Aoba'h|| into Tí-ráh. While Afẓal Khán was at Láchí on this duty, the time came round for the Prince's return from Kábul to Jam-rúd by the Khaibar pass.¶ He afterwards arrived at Ákhor, and Afẓal was directed to proceed to Kohát; for Mír Ibráhím, and Fakhar Khán, the Fowj-dár of Bangas'h, were proceeding into Bannú by the Buland Khel route, and he was to accompany them. This movement took place consequent on the expulsion of Iṣálat Khán, the Gakhar, the nominal Fowj-dár of Bannú, by the Bannútsís and Marwats, as related in the account of the Prince's attempt to occupy the Bannú territory, which see.**

In the year 1118 H. (1706 A.D.), shortly after the Prince had reached Pes'háwar from Kábul, the news reached him of the death of his father, Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír. Afẓal Khán was held in esteem by the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur; and his son, Prince Rafí'-ul-Kadr, who was much attached to field sports, and had often been taken out into the Khaṭak hills by Afẓal Khán, where they had enjoyed the chase together, had a great liking for the Khaṭak chief. He says: "The Prince got his son, Prince Rafí'- " ul-Ḳadr, and Náṣir Khán, to try and induce me to accompany him on his advance

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* The Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was appointed Ṣúbah-dár of Multán, and set out for that province, in the last month of 1108 H. (July, 1697 A.D.). His eldest son, the Sháh-Zádah, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, had been previously sent thither as Ṣúbah-dár. In the eighth month of 1111 H. (February, 1700 A.D.), the government of the Panj-áb was also given to the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, by the removal of Ibráhím Khán; and his deputy acted for him. According to one statement, Muḥammad Mun'im, son of Sardár Khán, who was subsequently raised to the dignity of Khán, with an increase of his rank in the army, was his deputy. In 1113 H. (1701 A.D.), Sher-i-Zamán, governor of the citadel of Kábul, was made deputy of that province, through the removal of Náṣir Khán, who appears to have been under a cloud at the time, since the Ma'áṣir says he lost a step in rank, but why, is not mentioned. He was subsequently made Ṣúbah-dár.

In the ninth month of 1115 H. (February, 1704 A.D.) Mun'im Khán, who was Díwán of the Prince, through the removal of Muḥammad Aslam Khán, became Díwán of the province of Kábul; and Aslam Khán, through the removal of the Sayyid, Mírak, became Díwán of the Láhor province.

† *See* page 372. Bahrám thought to pay off the Bannútsís for not receiving him better.

‡ They give name to two villages in the Koháṭ or Lower Bangas'h district or territory. Ismá'íl was among his own people.

§ This was *eighteen* years after Khush-ḥál's death, whom, according to Hai'át Khán, Bahrám "*soon followed*"; and such is the kind of "*peaceable possession*" Afẓal Khán was left in for "*sixty-one years.*"

|| *See* page 93, and note ‡. The above words have a meaning: "Nariab" none.

¶ Among the chief men or Arbábs at this period (1117 H., 1705 A.D.), were Muḥammad, son of Mastaját, Arbáb of Pes'háwar; Malik Johar, Mahmand; Malik Ikhtiyár, Wurakzí; and Yúsuf, son of 'Alam Khán, Afrídí, who were Arbábs of the Khaibar.

** *See* page 372.

"*into* Hindústán; and a *manṣab* or rank of commander of 4,000 horse was held out
" as an inducement, and the promise of other preferments. The young Prince sent for
" me to come to the Tasbiḥ Khána'h;* and he and Náṣir Khán tried to induce me to
" go, but for several reasons I did not accept the offer. One was, that I had, on several
" occasions, discovered the insincerity of the Prince's character; and I thought to
" myself that, whatever service I might perform for him, there was great doubt
" whether I might ever get a return for it.† Another reason was that he would
" not leave any Ṣúbah-dár over the Kábul province, and there was an absolute cer-
" tainty of great troubles arising; and, in case I went away, there were certain
" parties among my own tribe [Bahrám to wit] only too ready to carry out their own
" designs; and the tribe would be ruined, the territory become desolated, and I
" should, in consequence, acquire an evil name.

" In the course of five or six days the Bádsháh‡ [for he had assumed the sovereignty]
" advanced to Aṭak, and I accompanied him. My tribe had likewise performed their
" allotted part in constructing the bridge of boats; and, when we reached the Gídaṛ-
" Galí,§ the Bádsháh directed me to guard well the route between Aṭak and Pas'háur,
" and said that I should receive the reward of good services. When I received my dis-
" missal Ismá'íl Khán of Bangas'h was with me; and, as he was indebted to some parties
" there present [in camp], I relieved him of the debts in question, for he was in great
" poverty. My ideas were, that, as soon as the Bádsháh had crossed the Abáe-Sín, I
" would take possession of the Tarí Bolák *maḥáll*, oust the rebel Ḳábil, and reinstate
" Ismá'íl Khán. Ḳábil was in expectation of something of the kind, for he took
" Bahrám to his side, and placed him in charge of Láchí while I was at Pas'háur in
" attendance on the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, before the news of his father's
" death had reached him."

From this it appears that Sher Muḥammad Khán, the Malik-Mírí Kaṛlární, Khush-ḥál's old foe, had disappeared from the scene, and there were now two rivals for supremacy in the tribe, Ismá'íl Khán and Ḳábil Khán, two cousins possibly, or perhaps the latter was a Bá'ízí.|| How Ismá'íl became Afẓal Khán's *protégé* does not appear. He relates these events as though the reader was perfectly acquainted with them. He may have related them previously, but, most unfortunately, the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa' is very imperfectly arranged: matters which happened in Khush-ḥál's time are placed near the end: in many places the text seems imperfect, for an hiatus occurs every here and there. Nothing in chronological order appears until the following year, 1119 H. (1707 A.D.), when news was received of a great battle having been fought in Hind, and that the Bádsháh, Bahádur Sháh, had been victorious. Afẓal then says: "I now sent Ismá'íl Khán to Jammú, to the Afrídís, so that he might
" be near to Koháṭ, and be able to reach it speedily. I also despatched some of my
" relatives, and some forces, to support him; but Ṣadr Khán [son of Khush-ḥál]
" acted with hypocrisy, and did not go. When Ismá'íl reached Jammú, the Afrídís
" had left for Tí-ráh, and so their aid was lost. I then despatched other forces of my
" own, which took post at the Takht of Khwaṛama'h¶ [south of Láchí, and between
" it and the Ṭíraey To-e stream]. Ḳábil Khán, Koháṭí [Bá'ízí ?] and Bahrám, with
" the Afgháns of Bangas'h, were at Láchí [also called Iláchí] of Bangas'h, and after-

* Tasbiḥ-Khána'h means, literally, a private chapel, but here the private closet of the Prince. His father, Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír, who passed so many years of his reign in southern India, used to hold his private consultations in his Ghusl-Khána'h or bath-room; and hence it is always referred to as his place of private audience and consultation. His eldest son adopted the name above for his.

† It must also be recollected that there was no satisfying an Afghán, and a Khaṭak, equal to his deserts, according to his own estimation. In this respect Afẓal Khán turned after his grandfather.

‡ Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír died on the 28th of the eleventh month of 1118 H. (February, 1707 A.D.); and on the 27th of the last month of that year, March, 1707 A.D., the news reached Pes'háwar. The Prince assumed the throne at that place, with the title of Abú-n-Naṣr, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh. At the end of Muḥarram, the first month of the following year (April), and the month following the receipt of the news of his father's death, he reached Láhor, where the Khuṭbah was read for him, and money was struck in his name. Mun'im Khán got the title of Khán-i-Zamán, and his son, Na'ím Khán, that of Khánah-zád Khán.

§ The Jackal's Defile, a short distance from Khair-ábád, on the road to Akoṛa'h.

|| Although Afẓal Khán does not enter into details, nor does he mention the cause of quarrel between Ismá'íl Khán and Ḳábil Khán, this is evidently the commencement of the struggle between the Malik-Mírí and Bá'ízí branches of the Lower Bangas'h or Koháṭí Kaṛlárnís, which, after Afẓal Khán's history closes, ended in the Bá'ízís wresting the chieftain-ship over the three tribes of Malik-Mírí, Kághzí, and Bá'ízí, out of the hands of the former, and becoming independent of them. This is confirmed by the author of these surveys; for, when he wrote, the chieftain-ship of the Koháṭ Kaṛlárnís was in the hands of the Bá'ízís, and Nawwáb Khán of that tribe held it. *See* page 421.

During the struggle here referred to as just commencing, Bahrám, the Degenerate, of course, supported those who were hostile to Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak chief.

¶ "Khoorum" of the maps

"wards moved to Doḍa'h [Dhoḍha'h]. Ismá'íl Khán, the Malik-Mírí, with Nijábat Khán, the leader of the Khaṭak force, moved to Jammú, and afterwards to Tor Khel, when Ḳábil gave up the game, and threw himself on the clemency of Nijábat Khán. The *jirga'h* of the Tarí Boláks then made up the feud between Ismá'íl and Ḳábil, and sent them back to Kohát, after which the whole of the Karlární *ulúsis* of Bangas'h returned to the side of Ismá'íl." Afẓal Khán assumed charge of the *maḥáll*; and Saif Khán, son of Afẓal Khán, was then made Fowj-dár of Láchí, the chief place of Tarí Bolák.

Ḳábil, however, soon broke out again against Ismá'íl, and did so several times. Afterwards he retired to Shar-ghír; and Ismá'íl Khán sent Nijábat Khán, who was then Fowj-dár of Láchí, to harry Kamar Ḍanḍ,* and other of Ḳábil's villages.

Afẓal continues :—"In the year 1120 H. (1708 A.D.), Ibráhím Khán, son of 'Alí Mardán Khán, was made Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, and his son, Zabar-dast Khán, accompanied him. I represented to the Ṣúbah-dár that Ism'áíl Khán was a loyal subject; and he was consequently acknowledged as the head of the tribe, and received a dress of honour. Ismá'íl, in his joy, foolishly agreed to pay a sum of 70,000 or 80,000 rúpís yearly, provided he was allowed to retain the tract of territory he then held; for, subsequently, he found he could not pay it, or would not. On this, according to their usual line of policy, the Mughal authorities began to hold out hopes to Ḳábil, his rival, who bribed a dancing girl of the Ṣúbah-dár's with 10,000 or 12,000 rúpís for her interest. He was sent for, and despatched with a Mughal force from Pas'háur, against Ismá'íl; and I was ordered not to interfere. Ismá'íl had made the fort of Kohát strong, and therein he took post. The Afrídís aided him; and, out of consideration for me, the other Karlární Afghán clans of Bangas'h did not venture to join Ḳábil: consequently, he and his Mughal allies could effect nothing.

"In order to pay me off for supporting Ismá'íl, Ḳábil began to intrigue with the Mughals against me. He represented to the Nawwáb [the Ṣúbah-dár], that Ismá'íl could not be reduced to extremity until such time as he [the Ṣúbah-dár] should confer Láchí upon Bahrám [who had been in the shade for some time]." Afẓal Khán's mode of counteracting these intrigues by others of his own is ingenious, but suggestive, and shows the true state of affairs at the period in question. He says :—"Allah-Dád, Kheshkí [some time Fowj-dár of Langar-Koṭ], had been appointed Fowj-dár of Bangas'h, but, instead of coming to take up his office, he remained at Khassúr [probably on account of the disturbed state of the country]. In order to relieve Ismá'íl Khán, who was now hard pressed by Ḳábil and his Mughal supporters, I wrote to Allah-Dád, and advised him to come, and offered to aid him as far as I possibly could, or, at least, to send his deputy with the *sanad* or commission of investiture. A deputy arrived in a few days, and then I wrote to the Nawwáb, stating, that the deputy of Allah-Dád Khán had arrived, that the *sanad* from the Court had also reached me, and that it was therefore incumbent on me to assemble a force and put him in possession of Bangas'h. Further, that it was a delicate affair, as the Bádsháh's service had to be performed, and that quickly, while, at the same time, if I made a move with my forces to do so, his own forces then operating against Kohát would be destroyed; that, while the affair was one merely between Ismá'íl and Ḳábil, I had, on his, the Nawwáb's, account, not interfered, but now that I had an imperial service to perform, it would be better for him to withdraw his forces from before Kohát. The Nawwáb was, however, glad to have an excuse for so doing; and he wrote to me to send the deputy to him with the *sanad*, that he might confer upon him a dress of honour, and make his own apologies to the Bádsháh. At this time, Ismá'íl was so reduced, that it was with great difficulty I could make him hold out for a few days longer.

"In 1121 H. (1709 A.D.†), therefore, I despatched a force along with Allah-Dád Khán's deputy, by way of S'hádí-púr and Jammú, to Kohát;‡ and Nijábat Khán

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* "Kummurdund" of the maps. Perhaps those who wrote the name after this fashion were not aware that *kamar* signifies a "cliff," "crag," "precipice," etc., and *ḍanḍ*, "a pool of water," "a pond," "a mere." The village is situated under a *kamar*, and near a *ḍanḍ*, hence its name. It belongs to the Bá'ízí Karlárnís of Kohát.

† The year commenced March 1st, 1709 A.D. In this year, Bahádur Sháh came into the Panj-áb against the Sikhs, who were now becoming very troublesome. He died at Láhor, in the first month of 1123 H. (February, 1711 A.D.); and the disorder which arose was favourable to the Sikhs and their rise to power in the Panj-áb.

After a deal of fighting between his sons, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, who assumed the title of Jahán-dár Sháh, succeeded him in the second month of the same year (March), and in less than three months was slain, and succeeded by Farrukh-Siyar. *See* note ‡, page 387.

‡ By no means an impracticable route.

" was likewise directed by me to take the available forces* of Láchí to Kohát likewise. " The latter made such good use of his time, that, by the time the other force along " with the deputy had reached Jammú, Nijábat Khán managed to unite with Ismá'íl; " upon which Kábil and his Mughal allies decamped, and retired to Pas'háur.† " There Kábil had left a son as a hostage or security for himself; and, as soon as he " arrived there, he was thrown into prison, until he paid a certain sum of money [to " defray the expenses of the expedition].

" Ismá'íl Khán came forth to receive the deputy of Allah-Dád Khán; and Nijábat " Khán, having made all the necessary arrangements between them, returned to his " post at Láchí. Ismá'íl and the deputy then betook themselves to their respective " castles, and bickerings and altercations commenced between them."

Afzal Khán records nothing more respecting Bangas'h for some time after this.‡ Bahrám Khán, his uncle, the chief source of Khatak troubles for so many years, died at Noh-s'hahr in 1124 H. (1712 A.D.),§ but others in the family were quite ready to take his place. Four years after that, in 1128 H. (1716 A.D.),‖ Isálat, the evil disposed brother's son of Ismá'íl Khán, Kohátí, unjustly, and without cause, put 'Abd-ullah and Kábil to death; and 'Izzat, son of 'Abd-ullah, and Shamsher, son of Kábil, fled to Nizám-púr to Afzal Khán. He writes :—" They were interested persons, " and stated all sorts of things, but Ismá'íl was a *protégé* of my own, and, for reasons " mentioned in another place [not in the original MS., which is defective, and, " unfortunately, the author does not give us the particulars we should so much like to " have known. Ismá'íl must have been dead at this time], I was very desirous that " there should be peace and friendship between them. At this time, my son, Sa'íd " Khán, was Fowj-dár of Láchí; and I wrote to him, saying, that 'Izzat and Shamsher " had come to me to complain, and that he was to endeavour, if possible, to make up ' this affair between Isálat and them. He accordingly despatched a number of Boláks " and some men of Láchí, as a *jirga'h* or deputation, and as arbitrators, but the " Bangas'h Karlárnís, who are a bad race, slaughtered them."

It was on this occasion that Afzal Khán dropped down at once to Nizám-púr from Saráe, by water, related farther on.¶ He says :—" Having reached Nizám-púr, next " morning I despatched a force under Muhammad 'Alí [his son]; and I wrote to " Ae-mal, Afrídí,** asking him to join him [with his available clansmen], which he " did, in Síní†† [the villages of the clan so called giving name to the lands around, " of which Gumbata'h, several times referred to, is one], where he halted; and a few " villages of the Bangas'h Karlárnís were plundered. Isálat Kán, son of Ismá'íl " Khán, had made his father's brother's son, 'Ináyat by name, and 'Álam Sher, the " Malikzí, the leaders of his followers; and they marched forth to oppose my force " under Muhammad 'Alí, and Ae-mal, Afrídí, my ally. They encountered each other " at Da Beyalo Tang;‡‡ and the Almighty gave us the victory. The Bangas'h

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* By " forces " here, and in all instances, the writer means the tribal levies he had to keep up according to the terms of his *jágír* or fief, and such other levies of his tribe as owed him military service.

† Had it been necessary, the force marching from S'hádí-púr and Jammú might have cut off the retreat of the Mughals by seizing the Sandah Bastah route. *See* Route, page 422.

‡ Afzal Khán, however, says that, in 1122 H. (1710 A.D.), Násir Khán, whose title was Násir-i-Jang, became Súbah-dár of Kábul " as the Deputy of the Prince, Rafí'-ul-Kadr," son of Bahádur Sháh; and that, on account of his former acquaintance with Násir Khán, he (Afzal) went as far as Hasan-i-Abdál to receive him, and accompanied him on his way to Pes'háwar. Disturbances among the tribes of the Pes'háwar district brought Násir Khán from Kábul in the following year. He was removed in 1126 H. (1714 A.D.), and Sipah-dár Khán was appointed, but he was so incapable that he was removed the following year, and Násir Khán was again appointed.

§ *See* note *, page 400. This was the year in which Mír Wais, the Ghalzí, overthrew the Kazil-báshís under Kai-Khusrau Khán. Afzal Khán gives an account of his outbreak, which I shall refer to in my next section, and ends by saying that, " At this time, which is the year 1124 H., Mír Wais is still at Kandahár. He has been blessed with great good fortune, and *is a good Afghán,*" but he does not say he is a " Khilichí " Turk from the banks of the Jaxartes."

‖ The year 1128 H. commenced on the 15th December, 1715 A.D.

¶ Note ¶, page 447.

** This is not the Ae-mal Khán who so distinguished himself against the Mughals, for both he and Daryá Khán died before Khush-hál, who refers to them in one of his poems, in the following words :—

" Both Ae-mal Khán and Dar-yá Khán have passed away, in honour and in fame;
And, through bereavement from them, these my sighs and this mourning proceed."

See my " Poetry of the Afgháns," page 241.

†† " Seynee " of the maps. They are known as Síní or Sírní, like the clan.

‡‡ The name of this place too has been made ridiculous in the maps, wherein it is written " Billootung," and " Billetang " by MacGregor. This is a proof, if any were wanting, of the necessity of having names of places correctly written, and not from the ears of the Surveyors. It is the name of a village, one portion of which is built on the northern face of a rocky spur, which appears divided, cleft, or sundered, as its name implies, and the other half is built on another portion of the spur, between from eighty to an hundred yards from the other. Some dwellings also extend along the more level part beneath.

"Afgháns were defeated; and 'Álam Sher, and Kábil,* who were he commanders, "together with a number of horse and foot, were killed in the fight; and the rest "were routed, and pursued as far as Koháṭ. I subsequently gave directions to attack "Koháṭ and oust Iṣálat, but he complained to Náṣir Khán, who was then Ṣúbah-dár. "He despatched my *wakíl* or agent, the Seṭh, Sádhú Rám, to me, with some horsemen "of his own, saying that I had taken revenge ten times over [for the slaughter of the "*jirga'h*], and that, as the *jágír* was an imperial one, the affair, if it went on, would "bring him into bad odour; and, therefore, for his sake, I recalled my force, which "returned home in triumph."

From what has been stated in the foregoing by the Afghán chief and author, it would appear that Ismá'íl Khán succeeded Sher Muḥammad Khán, the Malik-Mírí, as chief of the Karlární Afgháns of Lower Bangas'h, namely, the Malik-Mírís, *Bá'ízís*, and Kághzís, but whether Ismá'íl was Sher Muḥammad's son or not does not appear, but the probability is that he was his son. It is also probable that Sher Muḥammad died in Hind, where Afẓal Khán says he was when Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, set out for the capital of his dominions. Ismá'íl, whose death likewise is not referred to by the Khaṭak writer, was succeeded by his brother's son, Iṣálat, who, like orientals generally, and not Afgháns in particular, commenced his chieftain-ship by removing dangerous competitors from his path.

In the first month of the year 1131 H. (1718 A.D.†), the Nawwáb, Náṣir Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, died, and was succeeded by Sar-Buland Khán. "He was," says Afẓal Khán, "exceedingly arrogant on the number of his followers, and avaricious, and "unfriendly towards the Afgháns. He sustained a defeat at their hands in the "Khaibar; and I was asked to unite the forces of my tribe with theirs in hostility "against him. At this time, Aḥmad Beg Khán, the Ming-Báshí,‡ was Fowj-dár of "Koháṭ; and he offered to make matters straight between the Ṣúbah-dár and myself. "I was heartily glad of this, but, finding that the Ṣúbah-dár had fixed a sum of "several thousands of rúpís as *pesh-kash* for the *maḥáll* of Tarí Boláḳ, I was not at "all pleased. The Mughals, and the vassal forces of Bangas'h [Afgháns of Bangas'h], "came to Láchí to collect the money, and began to act with severity in so doing." The chance of meeting with opposition, the Khaṭaks having collected, and a raid by the Kamálzí Mandars having been committed on the king's high road in the Khaṭak country, between Aṭak and Pes'háwar, saved the latter people in Tarí Boláḳ from its collection. The Ṣúbah-dár, however, took the *maḥáll* from Afẓal Khán, and gave it to one of his brothers, Námdár by name, for the nominal sum of 200 rúpís per month. While Afẓal was preparing his followers to oust Námdár, on the 1st of Rabí'-ul-Ákhir—the fourth month—1134 H. (January, 1722 A.D.), news came that Sar-Buland Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár, was to be removed; and it was on the occasion of the receipt of this good news that the stampede took place among the Fowj-dárs and Thánah-dárs mentioned at page 422.§ He had been Ṣúbah-dár for rather less than three years.

Afẓal Khán says:—"When Tarí Boláḳ was taken from me, I retired into Tsautara'h, "At this time Yúl-Bárs Khán, who was a grandson, on the mother's side, of Ághúz "Khán [of the early part of Aurang-zeb's reign||], came from Hindústán as Fowj-dár "of Bangas'h, to which the *maḥáll* of Tarí Boláḳ, as previously noticed, was attached, "and he received charge of it." When he was on his way to Koháṭ, and arrived at

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* *Sic* in MS., but 'Ináyat is mentioned before as one of the leaders. Of course, this Kábil is a different person from Kábil, the Koháṭí, who was put to death.

† The year commenced on the 12th November. He died at Pes'háwar on the 8th of Muḥarram (20th November), but some say on the 24th. He was succeeded by the Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, Sar-Buland Khán, Túní, who was Ṣúbah-dár three years, less three months. He again was succeeded in 1134 H. (March, 1722 A.D.), by Náṣirí Khán, son of Náṣir Khán, who was at Kábul at the time of his father's death; and he continued to govern the province until the fifth month of 1136 H. (February, 1724 A.D.), when he was removed, and no other was appointed up to the time that Afẓal Khán's history closes. Náṣir Khán was the son of Ḥusain Beg Khán, the Zík, a relative of 'Alí Mardán Khán, who betrayed Ḳandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh.

Four months after Náṣir Khán's death, Farrukh-Siyar, Bádsháh, was blinded; and then came Rafí'-ud-Daraját, and Rafí'-ud-Daulah, his brother, after whose short reigns of two or three months, and in the same year, 1131 H., Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Sháh, succeeded to the fast crumbling throne of Dihlí. During his reign it was that Nádir Sháh invaded Hindústán.

I have given these dates, because, without attention to them, and the more important events which took place in other parts of the Mughal empire, we should be unable to understand how such events, as are related by Afẓal Khán, could have happened in this portion of it, without its downfall being close at hand.

‡ In Turkish, "Ming-Báshí" means commander or head of a thousand. The word is rarely used in Indian history at this period; and there must have been some reason for his being styled by this Turkish name. *See* page 66.

§ *See* note ‡‡ to that page.

|| The Ághúz Khán mentioned in note **, page 404. Yúl-Bárs is the Turkish for tiger.

Atak, Afzal Khán despatched one of his sons to receive the new Fowj-dár, and he entertained him at Saráe.* Yúl-Bárs Khán, knowing that Afzal had previously held it, and had been recently deprived of it, offered to let him have the *mahâll* again, but it was declined with thanks, Afzal at the same time promising to aid him in his charge to the best of his ability. He likewise wrote to Isálat Khán, Koháṭí (with whom he must have made up the quarrel after the defeat at Da Beyalo Tang), and to Hasan Khán, and 'Izzat Khán, telling them† that the new Fowj-dár was of high family, and appeared to be a nice person; and advised that they should go to Pes'háwar to receive him.

On the removal of Sar-Buland Khán, Náṣirí Khán, son of the late Náṣir Khán, was made Şúbah-dár of the Kábul province, and Ganj 'Alí Khán was appointed his deputy at Pes'háwar. Subsequently, in the year 1136 H. (1723–24 A.D.), Sar-afráz Gul, a descendant of the Shaikh, Rahím-Kár,‡ broke out, and was the cause of much disturbance and trouble in Láchí and Khwarama'h. Afzal Khán wrote to Yúl-Bárs Khán, informing him that some hereditary rebels in his tribe were creating serious disturbance, and that they had also made use of his, the Fowj-dár's, name in their doings. Afzal asked him, through his deputy at Koháṭ, to aid Asad-ullah Khán, his son, then Fowj-dár of Láchí, against whom the insurgents had brought considerable forces, and, further, to issue an order in the name of Asad-ullah to exercise authority for him (the Fowj-dár) in that part, so that the mouths of the insurgents might be closed, while he himself proceeded to Pes'háwar to lay the matter before the authorities. "I also directed Asad-ullah Khán," he says, "to hold out as long as he "possibly could, and, if necessary, to retire upon Koháṭ, which he did. I set out "for Pas'háur on the 12th of Rabí'-ul-Ákhir—the fourth month—of 1136 H.§ "Subsequently, I summoned Asad-ullah from Koháṭ, and sent him home [to "Saráe].

"I now found Yúl-Bárs Khán quite changed from what he at first appeared, and "he now talked nonsense and mere empty words. I represented the matter to the "Şúbah-dár, and he was on the point of taking it up, when, suddenly, on the 24th of "Jamádí-ul-Awwal—the fifth month—1136 H. (1724 A.D.),‖ news came that the "Şúbah-dár was to be removed, and all the country became turned upside down. "That very same night I left the city of Pas'háur, and retired to the Wurakzís; and "on the 28th I reached home, and immediately summoned a *jirga'h* of the tribe."

These few extracts respecting the Karlární Afgháns of Lower Bangas'h, namely, the Kághzís, Bá'ízís, and Malik-Mírís, to which tribe the chieftain-ship then appertained, and who are not even mentioned by name by Hai'át Khán, Kathar, and other "masters of the subject," are sufficient to show that there is no tribe, and never was a tribe, whose name was "Bangash," the term having been quite misunderstood. Although the Karlární Afgháns, both of Higher and Lower Bangas'h, are styled in history "the tribes *of the* Bangas'hát," and those of Lower Bangas'h, "Koháṭís," the term "people or tribes *of* Bangas'h" is only applied to them as being resident in the territory known as Bangas'h, and in no other way, and might as correctly be applied to Awáns or Hindús dwelling in it.

Afzal Khán, subsequent to this, was put to great trouble through the disturbances raised by this Sar-afráz Gul, and thought of retiring from his native country altogether. The Nawwáb, 'Abd-us-Şamad Khán,¶ however, who was then Şúbah-dár of the province of Láhor—for there was no Şúbah-dár of Kábul at the time—urged him to remain, and promised him that he would himself march against the rebels. The Nawwáb's deputy at Pes'háwar, Malik Muhammad Khán, also urged him to stay. Accordingly, Afzal Khán, who had taken shelter among the Yúsufzís, north of the river of Kábul, in Rajab—the seventh month—of that same year, took up his quarters at Misrí Bánda'h, opposite Akora'h, but ready to fly in case of necessity. Subsequently, aided by some of the Mandar and Yúsufzí clans near by, the Kamálzís, Amánzís, Radzars, and others, to the number of about 3,000 men, his forces encountered the forces of the Mullás, Ṭálibs, and Darweshes, with whom were a few Afrídís of the

* The Fowj-dárí of Bangas'h appears to have been independent of the Şúbah-dár of Kábul: indeed, the office of Fowj-dár appears to have been independent of the Şúbah-dárs of the provinces. *See* also page 417.

† These were apparently the heads of the other two divisions of Lower Bangas'h Karlárnís.

‡ Rahím-Kár was the son of the Shaikh, Bahádur, of the Yasín Khel Tarís, and was the contemporary and spiritual guide of Khush-hál Khán. *See* note †, page 434.

§ End of December, 1723 A.D.

‖ The year 1136 H. commenced on the 19th September.

¶ Entitled Dilír-i-Jang. He was successful against the Sikhs in the beginning of 1125 H. (1713 A.D.). He succeeded Zabar-dast Khán, who bore the title of 'Alí Mardán; and was a grandson of the 'Alí Mardán who betrayed Kandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán.

Zá Khel, and some Khalíls, Dá'údzís, etc., numbering altogether between 7,000 and 8,000 men, on the 22nd of Shawwál—the tenth month—(July, 1725 A.D.), on the banks of the Khoṭlí Khwar, between Miṣrí Bánḍa'h and Noh-s'hahra'h, and gave them a complete overthrow, with a loss of upwards of 600 killed, 140 of whom were in mail and plate armour; and night alone saved them from greater slaughter.*

With the account of this affair Afẓal Khán's history closes. Whether he continued it or not, is unknown, but nothing more has come to light. The remaining years of the life of this intelligent Afghán chief must have been very stormy ones, and pregnant with disturbance. The fact that the important frontier province of Kábul was left for a long time without a Ṣúbah-dár, to take care of itself, shows with what rapid strides the Mughal empire was hastening to its fall. Therefore, it is no matter for surprise, when the Mughals were almost powerless in the Kábul province in 1136 H. (1724 A.D.), to find that they were still more so fourteen years after, and that Nádir Sháh had so often to complain of what he attributed to the unwillingness, not the inability, of the ruler of Dihlí to restrain the hostility of the Afghán tribes, over whom, even in the zenith of their power, their hold was but very partial. Nádir Sháh attributed it to the former cause, and made it the plea for invading Hindústán and sacking Dihlí. As early as the middle of Aurang-zeb's reign their sway over the Afghán tribes nearest them was merely nominal; and, soon after, almost ceased, as the preceding pages, containing the accounts of eye-witnesses, sufficiently show. It was on this account that Nádir Sháh found it so easy to invade India; for the only opposition he met with, and that not very serious, was from separate independent Afghán tribes. India itself was so rent with sedition, treachery, disaffection, and disorder, as to render the task of the invader easy.

I now resume the account of the Seventy-ninth Route from page 387.

"The river of Koháṭ, or Kághzí river, as it is also called, after this branch of Malik Mír's descendants, lies half a kuroh to the left [west] of Tappí;† and from it the people have cut a large canal for the irrigation of their lands. The hills on the left hand and the right, at this point, begin to approach closer on either side. Leaving Tappí, you proceed half a kuroh in the direction of north-west, and reach a wooden bridge over the river of Koháṭ, which comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the river of the Kághzí.‡ From this bridge you proceed another kuroh, in much the same direction as before, and reach Koháṭ.

"Koháṭ consists of two towns; and the old town is less populous, in comparison, than the new one. A canal of some size flows through the place with considerable briskness. A canal has also been cut from the river of the Kághzí for irrigation purposes; and the waters from the mountain tract to the north-west, which is the place of abode of the Afrídí tribe of Kaṛlárṉí Afgháns, have also been brought into the lands round the place for irrigation purposes.

"The climate of this part is excellent; and the lands are, for the most part, dependent on rain for irrigation, but some are artificially irrigated from the rivers. The lands of Koháṭ yield a considerable revenue. Those lands which are dependent on rain are assessed at one tenth of the produce, but the others are assessed at one fourth.

"Nawwáb Khán, of the Bá'ízí tribe, who is the Sar-dár of the Lower Bangas'h Kaṛlárṉís, is permitted to have the *naubat* beaten at his gate, and possesses the power of a sovereign prince. He also enjoys a *jágír* to the value of several thousands of rúpís from the Kábul government, which he receives through the Ḥákim or Governor, of Pes'hawar;

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* This is the sort of "*peaceable possession*" Afẓal Khán was left in "*for* 61 *years*," on the authority of Hai'át Khán, the Kaṭhar. A person should have, at least, some little knowledge of history before he attempts to write it. At this period, Khush-ḥál Khán had been dead *thirty-seven years*, and Bahrám, who so "*soon followed*," on the same authority, *twelve years*. Such crude history may be the Afghání of *Haï'át*, but it is the *Maut*-i-Afághinah, as far as their history is concerned.

† Tappí is the name of one of the clans of the Bá'ízí Kaṛlárṉís.

‡ Just above, the writer states that the river of Koháṭ is also styled the river of the Kághzí, while now he says that the former unites with the river of the Kághzí a short distance from Tappí, thus indicating that considerable changes have taken place in the beds of the rivers, hereabouts, even in this mountainous tract. In proceeding from Tappí to Koháṭ *now*, you have no occasion to cross what we call the Koháṭ river, and to do so would be to go out of one's way: you have to cross it before reaching Tappí. The writer, therefore, refers here to the stream rising in the mountains immediately north-east of Koháṭ, which he says "comes from "the right hand," in going from Kálá-Bágh to Pes'háwar by Koháṭ, "and flowed towards the left"—the west—and united with the main stream coming from the north-west—the left hand—which we call the Koháṭ river, and the writer the river of the Kághzí. The united streams, after their junction within about a mile of Tappí, went by the name of the river of Koháṭ, and river of the Kághzí, indiscriminately. *See* also pages 93 and 95, where the Kághzí clan and dara'h, and village, are referred to. There is no wooden bridge or river to cross now in going to Koháṭ from Tappí, as the river flows some distance away to the left. *See* also first paragraph of the next Route.

and in time of war the Khán furnishes a contingent of several thousand horse and foot soldiers to the Bádsháh's army.

"Three routes branch off from Kohát. One goes into Upper Bangas'h, and thence to Kábul; the second leads through the *kohistán* or mountain tracts of Tí-ráh to Jalál-ábád;* and the third is as follows.

"Setting out from Kohát, and proceeding a kuroh and a half to the north-east, you come to a *burj* or tower, constructed of stone [or brick: the word used may mean either], built by Nawwáb Khán, before mentioned. The road for half this distance lies through rice fields; and the waters from the mountains of Tí-ráh run into these fields. The great, high mound of ashes,† which, in bygone times, was the residence and seat of authority of the rulers of this part, lies near by on the right hand, and adjoining the new town. North of the burj or tower before referred to, there is a *kol-i-áb*, or large pond,‡ which contains water at all times.

"From the tower you proceed one kuroh to the north, and reach the crest of the high mountain range immediately in front, at which point the territory of the Karlárnís of Bangas'h terminates, and that of the Afrídís commences. The passage over it they call the Bandí Ghás'haey or Bandí [Banda'í ?] Pass;§ and the mountain on the left hand is called Kham Chúk, and that on the right, Kolár Tsapar.‖ In days gone by, on each of these hills there stood a great city, called by the names these hills bear.¶ Descending from the crest of this mountain range for the distance of one kuroh in the direction of north, you reach a small lake or pond dependent on rain, and, after it, this point is called Bandí [Banda'í ?]. It lies near by on the left-hand side of the way. Likewise, on the left hand, in the direction of west, are several villages belonging to the Afrídí Afgháns, known by the name of Shakar Dara'h.** Having passed the Bandí [Banda'í ?] or small lake, and proceeded one kuroh and a half in the direction of east, through a gorge or defile in the hills, you come to two villages, standing on the slope of the hills on the right-hand side, belonging to the Afrídís, and known as Gadará Kashár. You then continue onwards, in the same direction as before, for another kuroh and a half, and reach Sandah-Bast or Sandah-Bastah, the name of a great rock of quadrangular form, about eight cubits high, and four thick, and through it there is a great hole.†† It is stated, according to tradition, that, in ancient times, the daughter of the Rájah, Kolár Cher, was in love with a famous youth of this territory, who was wont to come every night to this spot; and, having secured the bull upon which he used to ride as far as this rock, he used to ascend the hill [to visit his mistress], until this affair became notorious; and the rock afterwards became known by the name of Sandah-Bastah, or the Bull's place of tying—the Sanskrit word for bull being *sand* or *sánd*.‡‡

"Having passed the Sandah-Bastah rock, and the narrowest part of the road through this mountain tract, separating the Kohát territory from Pes'háwar, a little farther on, in the direction of north, there are two villages standing aside from the road. That on the left hand, distant rather less than a kuroh, is called Zarghún Khel,§§ and the

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* *See* pages 94 and 404.

† The writer probably means that it contains ashes, broken pottery, and other *débris*, such as other great mounds, the sites of ancient cities of these parts, contain, not ashes solely, as the word used signifies.

‡ Elphinstone notices this. He says (page 64), "Near the town runs a stream as clear as crystal, which "issues from three fountains, and is first collected in a reservoir not far below. It is hot in winter, and cold "in summer."

§ Elphinstone calls it "a tremendous cotul [*kotal*]."

‖ The same word as occurs in Kábul Tsapar, Tor Tsapar, etc.

¶ These places, in all probability, were included in the fortified places which Rájah Jai-Pál had agreed to surrender to the Musalmáns when he ignored the treaty he had entered into. *See* note *, page 319. Judicious excavations made here might produce some interesting results.

** That is to say, the villages of, or in, the Shakar Dara'h or valley. It is a different Shakar Dara'h from that mentioned at page 379, which belongs to the Ságharí Khataks.

†† In Persian, such a rock would be styled, "Sang-i-Súrákh," or the "Perforated Rock." There are several mentioned in the history of these parts.

‡‡ Afzal Khán says:—"In the fourth month of 1134 H. (January, 1722 A.D.), when Sar-Buland Khán "was removed from the Súbah-dárí of Kábul in Farrukh-Siyar's reign, but which city, the capital of the "Súbah, during the three years, less three months, he held the office, he never could conveniently visit, that "grandee at once sent for all the Fowj-dárs and Thánah-dárs, such as the Fowj-dárs of 'Ash-Naghar and Kohát, "to come to him at Pas'háur. The latter lost no time, fearing the route might be closed as soon as it became "known; and he set out the very same night by way of Sandah Bastah, and reached Pas'háur unmolested, "but the 'Ash-Naghar Fowj-dár was not so successful. He was beset by the Muhammadzís; and crossed the "Sind [the Landaey Sín] in a precious plight, with the loss of only a few killed, but all the baggage was "carried off."

§§ A road leads from this place, or rather these villages, to S'hádí-púr, which, crossing the Indus, leads to Láhor, as will be subsequently explained.

Elphinstone halted here on his first stage from Kohát. He says (page 67):—"We halted that day at "Zerghoon Khail; and it is remarkable that the hills were so high, that the surveyors could not see the sun "to take an observation at noon day."

other, on the right, rather more distant, is called Kahú-kí;* and both belong to the Afrídí tribe. From the point reached, two roads branch off, that on the right hand leads into the Khaṭak territory: the left-hand road is as follows. Having proceeded half a kuroh north from the point at which the two villages named above lie on either hand, you reach a place where the road again separates into two. The right-hand road lies over the mountains direct to Mitanní;† and the pass which leads over them is called the Kháwangaey Ghás'haey. The ascent, from the south, is about half a kuroh, and the descent, on the north side, about the same distance; and it is very difficult. From the northern end of the pass the village of Mitanní will be distant three kuroh. By the left-hand road, which was followed by the writer of these surveys, you pass on, from the point where the road separates, for a short distance to the west, and reach the small village of Konḍalí, on the right-hand side, and near the road. From this place, likewise, you cross the high mountain range, on the right hand, towards Mitanní; and the pass leading over it, which is somewhat difficult, in one place very narrow, and commanded here and there, is called the Konḍalí Ghás'haey.‡ Leaving Konḍalí village, and proceeding for a distance of one kuroh in the direction of north-west, along the dry bed of a river, you reach the Koṭlaey, which, as its name indicates, is a small fort, built of stone and mud-mortar. It marks the frontier boundary of the Afrídí tribe of Afgháns in this direction, and is situated near the road on the left-hand side. The people of this fort levy a small sum by way of toll from travellers and traders, and permit them to proceed on their way.

"Setting out from the Koṭlaey before mentioned, you proceed three kuroh and a half in the direction of north-east to Mitanní, which is a large village named after a clan of the Afghán tribe of Mahmand.§ The mountain tracts on the right hand lie near, but those on the left are distant. The road to the village, after clearing the Konḍalí Pass, is level. The village of Yalam Guzar‖ previously referred to at page 94 lies away on the left hand, and is distant about four kuroh.¶

"The next stage from Mitanní is to Baḍáber or Baḍábera'h,** distant six kuroh to the north, which is a large village belonging to the Mahmands. On the way you cross two or three small streams dependent on rain, which come from the left hand, and, flowing to the right, become lost, through being drawn off for irrigation purposes, and in forming ponds. These streams come from the mountains some miles north-west of the Konḍalí Pass, and a little to the east of the point where the Báṛah river leaves the mountains, east of the little village of Gand-áb, referred to in the Eighth Route. From that river they have cut a large canal, and brought the waters into their fields.††

"From Baḍáber or Baḍábera'h you proceed four kuroh north and reach the city of Pes'háwar, which has been already referred to; and the route from thence to Kábul has been previously described (at page 35)."

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, also went by the Sanḍah Bastah route. He says:—"The Sanḍah Bastah "*Kotal* is lofty on the south side, but not so much so on the north, nor so difficult. It is infested with "thieves. The ascent is about two *kos*, and the descent [on the north side] somewhat less. The length of "the defile is about twenty *kos*."

* "Kooe" of the map.

† Turned into "Mutunnee" in the map.

‡ Not in any maps.

§ For a long period the chiefs or head-men of the Ghwaríah Khel in the Pes'háwar district, such as the Pes'háwar Mahmands, and the Khalíls, have the title or designation of *arbáb* applied to them. When, or why it was first used, is not known, but it was in use before the time of Khush-ḥál Khán, at which period Malik Mustajáb was the Mahmand Arbáb.

The word is a pure 'Arabic [Semitic] term, the plural of "*rabb*," signifying "lord," "master," and likewise, "possessing," or "endowed with," authority or power—the *Rabbi* of our version of the Gospels. The word is applied to those Maliks (precisely in the same manner as the title "Nawwáb," which is the plural form of Ná'íb, is applied as an adjective in the superlative degree), who are delegated with authority by a tribe or sub-tribe to conduct their affairs with the government to which they are subject when they do not acknowledge the authority of a single chief. *See* note ¶, page 415.

Some very ludicrous mistakes have been made respecting this 'Arabic term, some even going so far as to imagine that a particular tribe of people was meant. A joke is related of a Brigadier-General commanding the Panj-áb Irregular Force, who, writing about Pes'háwar, reported to Government, that "*another description of people*" was to be had there, "*named Arbabs, who were matchlock men*"!

‖ It is sometimes called 'Alam Guzar, but never "Alum Guzzur."

¶ *See* the Seventh Route, page 93.

** But neither "Budabher" nor "Buduhbair," as in maps and gazetteers.

†† *See* page 94.

Eightieth Route. From Pes'háwar to the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán, the seat of government in the Bannú, or Banú, territory.

"The route between Pes'háwar and Kohát has just been described. Setting out, therefore, from Kohát, and proceeding a quarter of a kuroh to the south-west, you reach the river of the Kághzí,* and cross it easily, the water, on ordinary occasions, not being deep. From thence you go on a distance of two kuroh and a half in the direction of south-west, as before, to Chína'í ;† and on the way thither you meet with many rises and depressions, ascents and descents. You then go two kuroh farther, in the same direction as before, but inclining west, to Gadá Khel or Gada'h Khel ;‡ and six kuroh south-west, as before, to Láchí,§ a large village belonging to the Síní clan of the Khaṭak tribe.‖ On the way thither you have to cross a great *kotal* called the Shaikh *Kotal*.¶ From Láchí, the next stage of eleven kuroh takes you to Ṭíraey, another large village belonging to the Khaṭaks. It is situated on a mound, on the northern bank of the river known as the Ṭíraey To-e, or Ṭíraey Stream— the word *to-e* being derived from the Pus'hto verb, *to-yedal*, to flow, to percolate, and the like— which comes from the direction of west, flows towards the east, and unites with the Abáe-Sínd.

"Leaving Ṭíraey, you proceed a long stage of thirteen kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, by S'hewa'h, to Laṭi-Mar,** another large village belonging to the Khaṭák tribe, and then ten kuroh more, in the direction of south-west, crossing several water courses by the way, to Mai-Sagaey,†† another village of considerable size, under the sway of 'Umar Khán, the Bannútsí, and within the Bannú territory. From the last-named place you go on half a kuroh south to Zakar Khel, sometimes called Zikr Khel; and then about the same distance farther, and in the same direction, to Duram Khel. A similar distance, in the same direction, brings you to the banks of the river of Kurma'h; and, having crossed to the other side by means of a raft,‡‡ you enter the town known as the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán, previously noticed (at page 84)."

The Territory of Bannú.

The first time that I find Bannú mentioned by that name in Muhammadan history§§ is in the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.), when the Amír Tímúr invaded the Panj-áb and Hindústán, at which time he came through the Dara'h of Kurma'h into Bannú. In his history—the Zafar Náma'h—as elsewhere stated, it is always written Bánú or Bánnú, with long "*a*" in the first syllable. Leaving a body of his troops in that *maḥáll*, as it is called in that work, he crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats, constructed in the course of two days, at the very place, so it is stated, where the Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, plunged into the great river when defeated by the Chingiz Khán,‖‖ and entered the Chúl or desert, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, which is, after him, styled the Chúl-i-Jalálí to this day, and previously described.

Bábar Bádsháh's raid into Bannú has also been referred to previously; and the little contained in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí about Bannú has also been related.

Upwards of two centuries ago, when the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was induced to invade Bannú at the instigation of Khush-ḥál Khán's degenerate son, Bahrám, who sought to ingratiate himself with the Mughals, to the detriment of his nephew, the then chief of the Khaṭaks, is said to have contained no less than three hundred forts, or fortified villages; and it was stated that all the lands therein were *ábí* or artificially irrigated, and yielded great revenue; in fact, that it was a perfect garden. The Prince

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* *See* note ‡, page 421.

† Turned into "Chumbai" in the map.

‡ "Guddakheyl" in the map.

§ Afẓal Khán, Khaṭak, sometimes writes this Iláchí.

‖ Of the Áto Khel division. The word is also written Sírní.

¶ Not noticed or mentioned in our maps.

** "Luttummur" of the maps, and "Latamr" and "Latamar" of gazetteers. *See* also page 376.

†† There is another place of this name, situated about eighteen kuroh westward from the Buland Khel village. *See* page 87.

‡‡ The course of the river, as here again shown, must have altered considerably since these surveys were made.

§§ *See* note *, page 319.

‖‖ Not "about twelve miles below Attock" as newspaper writers tell us, but nearer sixty.

was told that, wherever he might pitch his camp, the pomegranates, apples, and quinces, would hang down from over-head upon his tents. Likewise, that up to that period Bannú had never been interfered with by any sovereign, and was totally independent. This was in 1112 H. (1700 A.D.).

The author of these surveys thus describes the Bannú district or territory :—

"It is a broad and extensive tract of country, extending from east to west, from the extreme point of the border of the country of the Marwat Afgháns to the commencement of the kohistán of Bálá or Upper Bangas'h, nearly fifty kuroh; and, from the kohistán on the south [south-west], to the mountains on the north [north-east], inhabited by the Khaṭak tribe of Afgháns, twenty-five kuroh in breadth.

"The Bannú Afgháns do not follow a nomadic life, but are sedentary, and occupy permanent dwellings, and are cultivators of the soil. The lands are chiefly *rúdí*, called in Pus'hto, '*lúnd-aobey*' or '*numd-aobey*,' or irrigated artificially from rivers or canals, and yield heavy crops. In the *lalmí* lands, or those dependent on rain for irrigation, called by the Afgháns '*wuch-aobey*,' *jowár*, *bájrá*, *muṭhh*, and barley are produced. In the cold season, a little snow, and much rain, falls; and, in the hot season, the heat of the sun is less powerful than in Hindústán. Much fruit, the produce both of hot and cold climates, is grown.

"The river of Kurma'h, which is one of the four* considerable rivers which rise in the Spín-Ghar or Safed-Koh range,† flows through the Bannú territory, and goes on to Laka'í; and the river of Dawar, as the Tonchí is also called, comes from the westward, from the direction of the lands held by the Mírí clan of the Bannútsís, and unites with the river of Kurma'h a few miles south of the ruins of Akaṛa'h. From both these rivers the people have cut great canals, and brought water into their lands and mills; and rice, sugar-cane, *zard-chobah* (turmeric), cotton, wheat, and barley, are produced in great abundance by means of this system of irrigation. Through every village, indeed through every dwelling, good and sweet water runs by means of cuts from these canals.

"On the *rúdí* or *lúnd-aobey* lands the government levies as a tax one fourth part of the produce; and on the *lalmí* or *wuch-aobey* lands the usual amount of one tenth. In this district wells are unknown.

"Respecting the weights and measures in use in this part, the weight of thirty rúpís is called a *ser*; and four *sers* make one *aojzaey*. A measure of one hundred and twenty *aojzí*, in Bannú, they term a *ghendaey*. The measurement of land is after the following fashion. The breadth of eight fists side by side they term a *gaz*; and eight *gaz* one *khalla'h*. In planting and sowing they consider that a piece of land, seven *khalla'h* in length by one in breadth, requires one *aojzaey* of seed.

"The Bázár of Aḥmad Khán,‡ which at present is the chief place and seat of government of the Bannú territory, is a town of considerable size, but of modern date, situated on the banks of the river of Kurma'h. Merchandise and the productions of different countries are brought here and disposed of; and merchants and traders from Sind, Kábul, and Hind come and go by this place, and here they have to pay certain transit dues.

"The river of Kurma'h passes on the north side of the town, but close to it; and you have to cross by means of a raft to enter it from that side. Akaṛa'h, the ancient capital of the Bannú territory, is situated more centrally, and lies a few kuroh farther to the south.§

"The horses and swords of Bannú are remarkably good; and the people are exceedingly brave and bold. They [the latter] are Shítaks, the descendants of Sharaf-ud-Dín, *alias* Shítak, son of Kaṛlárnaey, and are, therefore, Kaṛlárnís like their neighbours, the Khaṭaks, and the tribes of Upper and Lower Bangas'h. The Shítaks of Bannú are styled Bannútsís, that is, dwellers in Bannú, in the same manner as the Bá'ízí and other Kaṛlárnís of the Koháṭ district are styled Koháṭís. The Bannútsís consist chiefly of the three septs of Surrárín, otherwise Surrání or Súrrání,|| Samí, and

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* *See* page 95, Section Second.

† Consequently, the "*Khoorrum*," as it has been called, does not "take its distant *rise near the celebrated fortress of Ghuznee*," nor within a hundred miles of it; neither does "*the impetuous Kúrm*," as another writer styles it, "*rise in the Spínghar chain, near Ghazní*," because, as above mentioned, the "chain" is not within a hundred miles of Ghaznín.

‡ The "Ahmed Khan" of the maps. It has much decayed since these surveys were made, and is no longer the chief town of the district.

§ See the short account of the ancient history of Bannú, and the traditions respecting it, in a previous page.

|| Their progenitor was Súrránaey, son of Shítak, son of Kakaey, son of Kaṛlárnaey; and the others are the

Míri. These three septs or divisions contain altogether more than 20,000 families. They likewise contain numerous smaller sections or clans, after whom their villages are generally named.

"In affairs of government they are great blockheads; and there is not one man who will pay any obedience to another man. Shiráfat Khán, the Sar-dár of this people, dwells at the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán. The yearly sum of 25,000 rúpís is the amount of revenue fixed,* and payable to the Bádsháh of Kábul, Tímúr Sháh; and this sum the Khán is unable to collect from them. The upshot is that a Tháṣíl-dár or Collector from Kábul comes to aid him, and from each person much more is collected than his share would have been had he paid according to his assessment."

The Bannú district, as at present constituted under the government of the Panj-áb, is very different from the Bannú here described, and embraces a much more extensive tract of country, extending, in one direction, across the Indus into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah. Bannú, as described above, from having been one of the most turbulent and disaffected districts under the grinding sway of the Sikhs, under the British rule, from the time it came under the energetic charge of the late Sir H. B. Edwardes, C.B., then a young Lieutenant, previous to the annexation of the country, has become one of the quietest districts under the Panj-áb Government.

Eighty-first Route. From Pes'háwar to Laka'í, the chief place, and seat of authority, in the territory of Marwat.

"This route follows the preceding route from Pes'háwar to Kohát and the Khaṭak village of Láchí, from which point it branches off.

"Setting out from Láchí, you proceed seven kuroh to the south-west, inclining south, to Sháh-báz Gaṛh, a large village and fort of the Khaṭaks in the Tsautara'h Dara'h, situated on a mound some twelve or fifteen *gaz* in height, nearly flat on the summit, and with precipitous sides. It is the place of residence of Sháh-báz Khán,† one of the four principal chiefs of this tribe of Afgháns. From thence you go another seven kuroh in the direction of south-west, to S'hewa'h, another large village belonging to the Khaṭak tribe. Here two roads diverge: that on the right hand (westward) leads, by Laṭi-Mar, to the Bázár of Aḥmad Khán; and from this place (S'hewa'h) to Laṭi-Mar is a distance of fourteen kuroh‡ to the west, the road, for the last half of the distance, lying through mountain defiles.§

"The left-hand road is as follows. Leaving S'hewa'h, you proceed ten kuroh to the south, when you issue from the difficult tract, and from ravines, and the dry beds of torrents, into the *jangal* waste or *chúl*, known as the Thal, which, however, every here and there, furnishes good pasturage. Continuing onward through it for fifteen kuroh farther to the south you reach Laka'í, the chief place of Marwat-i-Be-Muruwat, as it is called, or 'Marwat, the Inhospitable.' It is so styled from the sandy, arid, and dreary,

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descendants of Samaey, and Míraey, two sons of Gíwaey, son of Shítak. The other sons of Shítak have been mentioned previously at page 386.

Whatever may be the character of the Kaṛlárnís of Bannú in a moral point of view, they are certainly not "a mongrel tribe," nor are they descended from "one Shah Afrid;" neither are they "descended from many "different Afghan tribes"; and such as can read *are* "able, like the neighbouring people, to trace their lineage "back to the founder of the family," because they are descended from a common stock, but they cannot be blamed if others cannot understand what they tell them on the subject, and thus make a complete jumble of it. *See* page 388.

They are, by no means, of such fine build and stature as other Afgháns, which is attributable chiefly to the humidity of their country, beautiful though it is, and the malarious atmosphere in which they pass their lives. In this respect they resemble the Yúsufzí Afgháns of Suwát, whose physical constitution is attributable to the very same causes as act upon the Shítaks of Bannú. *See* page 212, para. 3.

* From the different statements I have noticed, given by the heads of tribes themselves, whether Afghán or Gakhaṛ, Balúch or Awán, with their lands "*rent free for ever*," their object was plain enough. They pretended that their predecessors paid little or nothing in the shape of revenue to the Durrání Government, in hopes that they might not be called upon to pay more to the British Government. In cases where a payment is acknowledged, it seldom exceeds, even if it comes up to, one half of the real amount. The sums mentioned in these pages are the actual amounts of assessment existing at the period these surveys were made, namely, towards the close of the reign of Tímúr Sháh, son of Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání, and confirmed by themselves.

† He was the great-grandfather of the present chief of Ṭíraey. The place is now in ruins, which are strewn all about, and indicate that, in the time of its prosperity, it must have been of considerable strength. It is of much older date than is generally supposed, and was named not after this Sháh-báz Khán, but his ancestor of that name, the father of Khush-ḥál Khán.

‡ The distance is rather more.

§ What is called the Surdágh Pass in the maps is probably what is referred to here.

There were no Aḥmadzí Wazírís in this Thal at the period these surveys were made, they having begun to possess themselves of it between sixty and seventy years ago. The eastern part, near the mountains once belonged to, or was occupied by, the Khaṭaks, who used to graze their cattle therein.

appearance of the country, except in time of harvest, after plenty of rain has fallen in the spring, at which time its aspect is altogether different, and it then looks like a vast corn-field. Halfway on the last stage from Laka'í, you cross the river of Kurma'h, which is generally fordable. The river Gamílá or Gamíla'h, also known as the Gambíla'h, flows past the town of Laka'í on the northern side.

"Before completing the description of these routes which branch off through the Khaṭak country, it is necessary to refer briefly to the Khaṭak tribe."

The Khaṭak Tribe of Afghāns.*

"The Khaṭaks are a large tribe, and number nearly 100,000 families. Their territory extends from near Bannú to the village of Bázár,† a little to the north-east of Atak-Banáras, a distance of about sixty kuroh in length; and from the territory of the 'Ísá Khel Níázís to the afore-mentioned village of Bázár, between forty and fifty kuroh in breadth. It consists chiefly of a very mountainous tract of country, through which it is difficult to pass, and *chúls*—sandy, desert, tracts—and *jangal.* The Khaṭaks, for the most part, are sedentary, and cultivators of the soil, but some follow a nomadic life. Their chief towns are Akorá or Akora'h, Sháh-báz Garh, Kálá-Bágh,‡ and Makhad.

"There are four well known Sar-dárs or Chiefs over as many subdivisions of this great tribe. The first is Sháh-báz Khán, before mentioned, whose territory is a difficult mountainous tract, and who resides in the fort of Sháh-báz Garh. Although he is not taxed, and has no contingent to keep up at his own expense, nevertheless, when called upon, he furnishes a body of troops from his tribe for the Bádsháh's service. The nomad Khaṭaks pay obedience to him; and Málg-ín, and other parts of the hill tracts containing salt [part of the Salt Range], are in his possession. The second Sar-dár is Yúsuf Khán, who is a great Chief; and the seat of his authority is the town of Akora'h, situated on the southern bank of the river of Kábul. There all sorts of commodities are disposed of, and the country all round is very productive, and yields a revenue of nearly two *lákhs* of rúpís. He has to furnish a contingent of troops to the Bádsháh's army. The third Sar-dár is Ma'áz Khán, the Wálí of Makhad, who furnishes a contingent of some hundreds of troops to the army of the Bádsháh of Kábul, and pays into his treasury the sum of 8,000 rúpís in lieu of taxes. The fourth Sar-dár is Surkh-rú Khán, Chief of the Bangí Khel sept of the Khaṭaks, previously mentioned."

As the author of these surveys has not touched upon the descent and antecedents of the Khaṭak tribe, I will do so very briefly, leaving a more detailed account of it for another occasion. The Khaṭaks are Karlárnís, and are descended from the same progenitor as the Dilazák Afgháns, whose pedigree is easily traced, as I have already shown, and who are looked upon as the head of the Karlární sept, the immediate ancestor of the Dilazáks being the eldest of the sons of Kodaey, one of the two sons of Karlárn or Karlárnaey. It might equally be said of the Khaṭaks, and quite as correctly —or of the Afrídís, Wurakzís, Mangalís, Shítaks, Wazírís, Khogíánís, or Utmán Khel —that they are "*tribes of Arab, not Afghán origin,*" as a recent writer incorrectly says respecting the Karlární tribes inhabiting Lower Bangas'h, whom he calls "*the Bangash tribe,*" for they are all descended from the same Karlárn or Karlárnaey, as previously stated, who was the reputed son of a Sayyid; and, as all Sayyids are of 'Arab descent, it stands to reason that the descendants of Sayyids are likewise of 'Arab descent.§

The progenitor of the Khaṭak tribe was Lukmán, son of Kodaey, son of Karlárn or Karlárnaey, but he became known by the nickname of Khaṭak, and from the following incident.‖ Lukmán, and three of his brothers, while out hunting in the open

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* "Khuttuck" is an impossible name.

† *See* pages 32 and 273.

‡ *See* note **, page 370.

§ Captain (now Major) T. C. Plowden, B.S.C., in his English translation of a book entitled "Kalíd-i-Afghání," which contains about a dozen pages of the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa' (taken by its compiler, a missionary, from that portion of the same history contained in my Afghán Selections entitled the "Gulshan-i-Roh"), with rare inconsistency, after he had himself, in his translation, traced the descent of the Khaṭak, Dilazák, and other tribes, from Karlárn or Karlárnaey, and given, from that text, a correct tree of their descent, says the Bangash are "*a tribe of Arab, and not Afghán origin,*" and that the Dilazáks are "*a non-Afghán people,*" and yet "the Arakzais" [he means the Wurakzís], and others descended, like his "Bangash" and Dilazáks, from the *very same* Karlárnaey, "*are Afghán tribes,*" even by his own account.

‖ *See* the original, which will be found in my Gulshan-i-Roh, in the extract from the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa', pages 37 and 38.

country, by chance, met with four Afghán damsels of another tribe; and one of his brothers proposed that they should cast lots for them, and make them their wives, as their dress indicated that they were unmarried. Lukmán would not consent to this arrangement, saying, that, as the elder of the four, he would first choose one of the damsels, after which they might cast lots for the other three. The girls must have been veiled rather closely; and Lukmán selected the one who was the best dressed. The other brothers, having cast lots, were anxious to see how fortune had favoured them; and it was found that Lukmán's choice was very plain, dark, and stout, while the other three damsels were very comely. The brothers began to laugh and jeer their brother, saying "*Lukmán pah khatey lár*,"* which, in Pus'hto, signifies "Lukmán "is gone in the mud," which is equivalent to the English phrase, "So-and-so has stuck "in the mud," or "put his foot into it;" and thus the term "khatak," which may be freely translated "stick-in-the-mud," stuck to him, and to his descendants for ever after—

> "Truly, the pretty face which *may be* the veil under,
> When thou openest it, *may be* a mother's mother's." †

However, Lukmán's choice, Sabáka'h by name, bore him two sons, named respectively Tormán‡ and Bolák. Tormán, the eldest, had two sons, Taraey and Tarakaey, but, as Taraey was more able and talented, all his father's descendants, including those of his brother, are called Tarís after him, consequently the Khataks are all either Tarís or Boláks. Khush-hál Khán, the warrior, poet, and historian, was fifteenth in descent from Lukmán, *alias* Khatak.

The Bangí Khel are a section or clan of the Boláks, their progenitor being Bangaey, son of Ságharí,§ son of Bolák. The chief town of the Boláks at present is Jahángíra'h, mentioned previously at page 273.

The first historical trace which we obtain of the movements of the Khataks is from the chronicle of their own chief and historian, Muhammad Afzal Khán, who quotes from the writings of his grandfather, and states that their *first settlement* was in the mountain range of Shuh-ál, which was (when he wrote, and still is) the country of the Wazírís,|| who are also Karlárnís, being descended from Karlárnaey's second son, Kakaey. The Khataks were subsequently forced farther eastward by another wave of the Afghán people, displaced, in all probability, by foreign invasion, and came into the Bannú territory. What is still more probable, however, is that, like the bees, they swarmed from the parent hive to make room for others, and find subsistence for themselves in a new country, as other Afghán tribes had to do. Arrived in Bannú, they took up their residence with their kinsmen, the descendants of Mangalaey and Honaey.¶

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* In his "Gazetteer of Central Asia," Part I., page 149, MacGregor, quoting the "Hyát-i-Afghání," says "the name Khatak is said to come from the Pukhtu expression '*pah khattar*,' meaning he has come to grief." Of course, "*pah khattar*" is meaningless; and this shows the danger a compiler is liable to fall into when attempting to quote from a language unknown to him. Perhaps the error came from the translation of Hai'át Khán's work, which has "*pa khat lár;*" and it is so written in the original 'Urdú, thus showing that Hai'át Khán's ideas of Pus'hto were somewhat hazy.

† The original of the above is a literal translation of the Persian quoted by Khush-hál in the text:—

> "Bas súrat-i-khúsh kih zer-i-chádar báshad,
> Chún báz kuní mádar-i-mádar báshad."

Plowden, in his translation of the extracts from the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa', referred to in note ‡, page 376, renders this couplet as follows:—

> "The youth was by her veil'd face and fine apparel gull'd:
> When her veil he lifted up on his grandam he chanced."

He cannot surely have meant this for a translation of this Persian: perhaps, he is not acquainted with the Persian language.

‡ This is correct, but not "Túrmán."

§ Whatever the "Awán" Malik of Kálá-Bágh may have said to the contrary, Awáns being no authorities whatever respecting the descent of Afghán tribes, any more than for their own descent. The Bangí Khel and other Ságharís know their own descent better than any Awán can be expected to know. *See* note **, page 370, and page 430.

|| He means that *at that time* the Wazírí Karlárnís were dwelling therein. It is called in the original a mountain range, therefore it cannot be "a valley." The whole of the mountainous tract of country around the Takht-i-Sulímán, as far west as the western slopes of the mighty range, was known as Shuh-ál, or Shú-ál Ghar. *See also* the "Translation" of Hai'át Khán's book (page 210), where it is styled "Mount Shamwal, one of the western faces of the Sulieman range." Mr. Bellew, in his latest work, makes "*Sanwál*" of this name, and makes "*Shattaks*" of the Shítaks, to make their name rhyme with "Khattaks" perhaps. The original Pus'hto text is as I have written it above. *See* note ‡, page 376.

¶ It is very easy to say that "Honai and Mangalai" took possession of the Bannú valley "*circiter* 1150;" that it had been "depopulated by Mahmúd Ghaznaví;" and that "the Shítaks came down from Shwál *in circiter* 1300;" or to assert that "during the thirteenth century the Khataks *are supposed* to have left Sháwal "[*sic*], in the Súlimán range, and subsequently settled in Bannú," but who says so? in what history is it

To those acquainted with Afghán genealogies this was quite natural, for Mangalaey, the progenitor of the Mughbals, Jzandráns or Jzadrárns, and Bahádurzís, was Lukmán's, *alias* Khaṭak's, full brother; and Honaey, the ancestor of the Honí tribe, was a son of the Sayyid, Muḥammad-i-Gísú-Daráz, referred to at page 384, who married a Karlární wife, who bore him two sons, Honaey and Wardag. They were, in fact, all Karlárnís together, either on the father's or mother's side.

When the tribes of Honí and Mangalí, through some enmity which arose between them and the descendants of Gíwaey, son of Shítak—and others the descendants of the latter, who were likewise Karlárnís; for Shítak was Lukmán's brother—left the Bannú territory and went to Hindústán,* the Khaṭaks continued to dwell with the Shítaks, and the former held the Sadrawan *wála'h* or watercourse, and the lands pertaining to it, with, in all probability, the Shítaks consent.†

It is then stated that feuds with their neighbours, the Shítaks, and the movements of other tribes, or sections of tribes, pressing onwards from the west, caused the Khaṭaks to move farther eastwards and northwards, but quarrels with the Shítaks is the more probable cause; since the latter have not been affected by the movements of other tribes, and still dwell in their old seats. The Khaṭaks then allied themselves with the Karlárnís of Bangas'h against the Wurakzí Karlárnís, with whom they were at feud, who now dwell in the mountain tracts of Tí-ráh, in the Khaibar Dara'h, and in the Jalál-ábád district. These they expelled from the Kohát district, or Lower Bangas'h, which the Malik-Mírís, Bá'ízís, and Kághzís took possession of; and the Khaṭaks appropriated the tracts as far east as Resa'í on the Sind or Indus, and parts around, and farther northwards along the Indus, and river of Kábul. This must have happened in the latter part of the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, because, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí of Abú-l-Fazl, it is stated that the Wurakzís were still included in the *tomán* of Kohát, and were set down as able to furnish 300 horsemen and 5,000 infantry.

The Khaṭaks first appropriated the Lowá-Ghar,‡ Ṭíraey, and parts adjacent; and, by degrees, overran the country farther east, as far as the Sind or Indus, a little below

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recorded? I may add that there is not the shadow of a proof of it, and that the only record is that given above.

The expulsion of the great tribe of Dilazák Karlárnís, in the time of Humáyún Bádsháh, from Pes'háwar and its districts paved the way for the entry of other tribes into the tracts south of the route from the Indus to Pes'háwar and Kábul by the Khaibar and other roads, such as the Khaṭaks, Afrídís, and Malik-Mírís and other tribes of Bangas'h. *See* note ‡, page 375, pages 328 and 329, note §, page 350, and page 390.

* Not all certainly; for, two centuries since, some of the tribe of Honí were dwelling among the Khaṭaks around the Níl-áb mountain. The Káká Khel, who are so venerated among them (as descended from the Sayyid, Muḥammad) are probably Honís. The Mangalís retired to Khost and parts adjacent, where they still dwell, but some, probably, emigrated into Hindústán.

† It is still known by the same name. Edwardes refers to it in his book (page 318, Vol. I.), under the name of "Sudurawan," and settled a dispute between the Wazírís and Bannútsís respecting it. He says it is in the "Jhundookheyl" *tapa'h*, and was nearly half a *tapa'h* in extent, and lies east of the river of Kurma'h, and, consequently, the Khaṭaks were not wrong in claiming part of the Thal as theirs. *See also* page 319 of the same work. It appears in the maps as the *Ahdhummee* N., and in MacGregor's book as the *Ahdhami* ravine.

‡ The Lowá-Ghar is that range of mountains, in some places rising to the height of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet, commencing a few miles north of Kálá-Bágh, and through which the Chichálaey Ghás'haey or pass, mentioned at page 370, cuts. At its commencement it runs in the direction of south-west, first throwing out several short ridges to the south. It is then cut across from north to south by the pass above mentioned, after which it runs in three parallel ridges for about ten or eleven miles, when the northernmost ridge, bounding Tsautara'h on the south, ceases, and the other two continue to run in the same direction for another ten or twelve miles, when both bend to the south. These continue to run in that direction for about the same distance, when the easternmost ridge terminates, and the westernmost continues onward, gradually lessening in elevation, and inclining easterly, until it reaches the Tangaey or Dara'h-i-Tang, referred to at page 440, where the river of Kurma'h pierces it on its way to the Indus, at which point the range is very low. This range of mountains separates the country of the 'Ísá Khel Niázís, and Kálá-Bágh, from the Khaṭak country, and the Chúl or Thal, now occupied by the Wazírís, the eastern parts of which latter certainly did belong to the Khaṭaks, who used to graze cattle in it.

The Lowá-Ghar looks on the map like the petrified remains of a gigantic antedeluvian monster, the head being those parts of it immediately east of the Chichálaey Pass, and west of the Gháso-e defile, and its body the three parallel ridges, while the tail is formed by the other two gradually tapering away until the westernmost one terminates at the Tangaey or Dara'h-i-Tang. Its southernmost peak, about six miles above the Tangaey, is known as the Lakey Tíjzey, the plural form of the same name as mentioned at page 123, in Bájawṛ. It was to a stronghold in this range that Iḥdád, the Táríkí, retired when he found he could not stay at Ghaznín, after Yalang-Tosh, the Úzbak, deserted him, and made peace with the Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, as mentioned at page 393; and it was here, likewise, that he was killed, as related in the same page.

The stream which takes its rise in the dara'h formed by the two northernmost ridges of the three immediately west of the Chichálaey Pass, runs down between them in the direction of south-west, and is known as the river or stream *of the* Lowá-Ghar, but there is no river actually called the Lowá-Ghar; for *ghar* signifies a mountain and range of mountains, but in our maps the "*Lavagur*" is duly marked. The stream referred to receives others coming from the north, in the hills about Laṭi-Mar and Kaṛak (not "Kurruk," as in the

which the Ṭíraey To-e or Ṭíraey stream unites with it, the Awáns, a people of Jaṭ descent, for the most part, retiring before them into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah on the banks of the great river.*

Subsequently, the Khaṭaks carried their inroads into that part of the Panj-áb as far east as the Sakí Sara, or Sú-hán Sakí Sara [*sara* is the Sanskrit for a lake] district, whither the Awáns had gone and taken up their abode; and, after that, as far east as Bharah and Khush-áb on the banks of the Jhilam. During the time of Khush-ḥál Khán, the Mughal government being too powerful for them, their inroads were put a stop to, and they had to fall back again towards the Sind, but they still retained the district of Makhad on the east bank, and still continue to hold it.†

There were no Khaṭaks north of the river of Kábul in Akbar Bádsháh's reign; for Malik Akoṛ or Akoṛaey, only founded the town of Akoṛa'h after he became a vassal of that sovereign early in 994 H. (January, 1587 A.D.); and the tradition of the Khaṭaks that Sháh-báz Khán, father of Khush-ḥál, who died in 1050 H. (1640–41 A.D.) "subjugated the whole" of the Mandaṛ tribe of Afgháns is pure invention; for the whole strength of the Mughal empire of Dihlí could not effect it. The constant invasions, battles, and devastations, which occurred north of the river of Kábul, after the destruction of the Mughal army in the Karakaṛ and Malandaraey Passes, related at page 261, paved the way for the Khaṭaks, who were Mughal vassals, to commence appropriating the territory on the northern bank opposite Akoṛa'h; and they, by degrees, began to annex the Mandaṛ territory along its banks.‡ Yaḥyá Khán, son of Malik Akoṛ, is said to have seized upon the part nearest the river, known in after years as Tarí and Boláḳ, after those sections of the Khaṭak tribe who took up their abode in it. There is a colony of Khaṭaks in the Lúndaey Khwaṛ Dara'h; and, in Khush-ḥál's day, there were Khaṭaks dwelling at Rustam in the Sudam Dara'h, where, with the consent of the Mandaṛs, they had taken shelter from the Mughals; and they were of the Tarí sept of the tribe like himself.

I have given accounts of this celebrated warrior-chief and poet, and of Ashraf his son, and Muḥammad Afẓal, his grandson, in my "Translations from the Poetry of "the Afgháns," pages 142 and 249, and need not repeat them here.

When the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs assembled on the banks of the Níl-áb, a little above Aṭak-Banáras, in Shawwál, 1077 H. (March, 1667 A.D.), and crossed over, and

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maps); and in time of flood pours into the river of Kurma'h in a violent torrent, about nine miles east of the ruins of Akaṛa'h. Great part of the year there is no water running in its bed, which, in some places, is some fifty feet deep, but, by digging four or five feet more or less, plenty is obtainable; and it is here that the Wazíris and their flocks obtain it. Such water pits in the bed of a river are called *jzawar*, in Pus'hto, but not "*joor.*" *See* also page 324, paragraph 2.

In our maps, the northernmost part of this Lowá-Ghar range, forming what I have called the head of the huge petrified monster, appears as "*Lukkur Ghur.*" *See* page 393, note ‖.

* *See* note †, page 377.

† When Sháh 'Abbás, Ṣafawí, took Ḳandahár in 1059 H. (1649 A.D.), and Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh was on his way to Kábul at the time that his son, the Sháh-Zádah, Muḥammad Aurang-zeb, was directed to besiege that stronghold, Khush-ḥál Khán, the Khaṭak chief, as his vassal, proceeded in the Bádsháh's train from Aṭak as far as Ḍhákah; and was sent back from thence to bring along the *Birinj-árís* and escort them from the Aṭak ferry to Kábul. When about to dismiss Khush-ḥál on this duty, the Bádsháh asked him several questions respecting the Afghán tribes of those parts, and their strength, the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs in particular; and the reason of the feud between them and the Khaṭaks, his own tribe, all of which he replied to. Then the Bádsháh inquired of him what connection there was between his tribe and those Khaṭaks who were in the habit of making raids into the Khush-áb and Bharah districts. The Khán replied that they were all Khaṭaks together, sprung from the same ancestor, but that they (the Ságharí Boláḳs, including the Bangí Khel) were now separate, and independent of each other. Sháh-i-Jahán then inquired into the state of the route between the territory of the two Khaṭak septs. Khush-ḥál replied that the Níl-áb Ghás'haey or Pass separated them from each other. Then the Bádsháh asked him if it was practicable for horsemen. The Khán gave answer that it was difficult for horsemen, but that infantry could easily cross it. While this conversation was passing Sháh-i-Jahán was being conveyed in a *takht-rawán*, or portable throne, and Khush-ḥál Khán rode at his side. Having been strictly enjoined to bring on the *Birinj-árís* as soon as possible, the Khán received his dismissal.

‡ The Ákhúnd, Darweza'h, the great saint of most of the Eastern Afgháns, did not think very favourably of the Khaṭaks; and on their side, too, there was not much love displayed towards him. He says, "The "women of the Khaṭak Afgháns [he calls them Afgháns, it will be noticed, although they are Karlárnís], "seated on the ground, grind the corn in their hand-mills with one hand, and with the other laid on the "breast, pretend to make their *rukú'* and *sujúd* [bowing the body in prayer, and, bowing the head to the "ground so that the forehead may touch it], without rising up, by bowing their heads only, so ignorant are "they of even the outward forms and ceremonies. This they imagine to be *namáz* (the prayers prescribed by "the Muḥammadan law); and although it is not, still it is better than not even going through the appear-"ance of making it." He adds that the Khaṭaks were much in the same state as the Chamkanís, who, long before this period, had separated from the rest of the Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel, and taken up their quarters about the Spín Ghar or Safed Koh; that "their food is chiefly *arzan* or millet, and their garments "*pashm.* Most of their females go about with their heads bare, and an old worn-out piece of cloth about "their necks; and, thus dressed, they go out into the wilds and forests and pick up firewood, collect grass, "and take out the cattle to graze."

were defeated by Kámil Khán, the Fowj-dár of Aṭak, near the Hazrau ferry—due south of Úhandh—Ashraf Khán, son of Khush-ḥál, was present with him in command of the Khaṭak contingent, along with other vassals.

During the incessant civil strife that went on between Khush-ḥál Khán, and his son, Ashraf, and grandson, Muḥammad Afẓal, on the one side, and the former's degenerate son, Bahrám, on the other, supported by other disaffected members of the family, and by the Mughals, who made use of Bahrám to destroy the power of Khush-ḥál, and the Khaṭak tribe generally, upon one occasion, in the month of Muḥarram, the first month of 1084 H. (April, 1673 A.D.), the Mughals, and Bahrám's supporters, appeared before Niẓám-púr, about twelve miles below Níl-áb, and rather less than three from the west bank of the Indus, where Khush-ḥál had taken up his residence.

Some 200 or 300 Khaṭaks and Afrídís made a night attack upon them, but without result. The Mughals and their allies subsequently moved to Gharbín, but were then defeated with loss. Khush-ḥál Khán says, in his Diary, "I set out towards Ḍanbaṛa'h on the 5th of the month, and came to Gharbín, where there were some Afrídís [who were allies of Khush-ḥál against the Mughals], but they were without heart. I accordingly held counsel with them; and I remained there two nights; and they united with my force.

"On the 11th, the Mughals and their allies broke up from before Niẓám-púr, and I set out with my followers in pursuit of them; the Afrídís in two bodies, and the Khaṭaks in one, the whole amounting to just 700 men, of whom 120 were cavalry. Some of them were armed with firearms, who, in all, may have numbered 200 men. We came up with the enemy at the Súniála'h Ghás'haey or Pass;* and between 400 and 500 of their matchlock men were left behind as a rear-guard. They were hill-men of Jammún [in the Kohistán of the Panj-áb, not the Afrídí Jammú], and they occupied the pass. A fight ensued, which lasted one watch [three hours], when the Mughal forces and their allies took flight, after losing 12 killed, and more than 20 wounded. The Tsíní villages were burnt; and that night we passed at Gárú.†

"Next day, the 12th, we moved towards the villages of Níl-áb, in the same order as before; and the two villages in the Toha'h hills were attacked and plundered, in which affair some 20 or 30 of the Kaṭhar tribe were killed, many prisoners taken, and much booty acquired. We returned safely to Ḍanbaṛa'h on the 13th; and the Afrídí Kad-khudás,‡ who, with their men, had behaved so well, were allowed to return home, after promising faithfully to come back soon."

The Khán further states, that, on the 26th of the same month, he despatched a force of about 350 men, Khaṭaks and Afrídís, under Mullá 'Usmán, to attack Jánah-gaṛ, which is a small dara'h or valley among the mountains, bounding the Pes'háwar district on the south, and lying about south-east from that city. It is between two and three miles in length; and a never failing stream of water runs through it. Its width is about half its length; and the entrances at either end contract into narrow defiles.§ This force descended the Jánah-gaṛ Ghás'haey or Pass, the entrance of the dara'h on the Khaṭak side, and, at midnight, attacked the village of Mewrah.‖ A few men were killed, but 300 head of cattle, and some provisions, were captured, and the place was then fired.

Upon another occasion the Mughals sought to compel Khush-ḥál Khán to change his quarters from Totakí,¶ a strong position difficult to get at, situated on the banks of

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* The well known pass lying between Pes'háwar and the Panj-áb by one of the old routes by the Níl-áb ferry, now called the Kahoá ferry. On the Pes'háwar side the road, for about a kuroh, lies in the bed of a rocky ravine, the passage over the crest is stony, and the descent down to Súniála'h, in the Khwaṛa'h, after which it is called, is not difficult. From thence other roads lead to other places north and south, as mentioned in the above narrative. The pass appears in our maps as "Kunnakheyl." The village of *the* Kanah Khel, certainly, stands near the northern entrance of the pass, but there is no pass called *Kunnakeyl*, though it might be styled "*the pass leading to Khanah Khel.*" *See* page 442.

† "Garoo" of the maps, a village in the Khwaṛa'h, situated in a strong position on a height, and surrounded by ravines. Here, likewise, roads branch off to other passes to the west, and the ferries over the Indus to the east.

‡ The head-man of a village or small clan is called the Kad-khudá.

§ This fruitful little valley is, at the present time, peopled by a section of the Adam Khel Afrídís, known as the Ḥasan Khel, which contains still smaller subdivisions. It has been looked upon by the frontier authorities as a very strong position. Its inhabitants, who live in several small villages, are still independent, or were so very recently. Khush-ḥál Khán shows how it could be easily entered.

‖ This village does not appear to exist at present.

¶ "Tootkay" and "Tútkai" of the gazetteers and maps. It is a village on the Afrídí border, six miles east of Jánah-gaṛ, with the mountains on its south, and the stream referred to above on the north. This

a stream, which, rising in the Jz'wákí hills and flowing north-west, unites with the Abáe-Sind a little south of Nizám-púr; and they gave Bahrám to understand that, if he could not accomplish it, they would send for Ashraf Khán, his brother, and make over the Khaṭak territory to him. Here Khush-ḥál had taken up his residence in order, should necessity require, to be able to fly for shelter to the Adam Khel Afrídís, whose territory was close by. The Mughals applied to his degenerate son, Bahrám, who had supplanted his brother Ashraf as vassal of the Mughals for the time being.* A force was got together by Bahrám, consisting of men from among his supporters in the tribe, and men of other tribes in his pay, which force advanced to Mihráji, in the Káwar Dara'h; and the Aoriá Khel Khaṭaks, then dwelling there, joined them. They then moved down the Pass on the route to Mír-i-Kalán village, where others among the disaffected Khaṭaks also joined them.

The old Khán says, "I also had prepared for hostilities. All the Afrídís had returned "to Tí-ráh, but about 50 or 60 of the Hasan Khel Adam Khels came from Jánah-gar "and joined me, besides some others; and, altogether, I may have got 500 men together. "Although not many in point of numbers, their courage and valour was enough to cope "with Bahrám's whole following, which amounted to over 3,000. I had summoned all "the Boláks of Paṭ-yálaey,† but none of them came.

"Bahrám's force moved to Da Kamar Meney,‡ as we had closed the Gharbín Tangaey "or defile. It was the 8th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal—the third month—of that year. The "sun had entered Taurus, and the flowers of spring were still blooming."

Khush-ḥál Khán was, however, deserted by most of his party, who returned to their homes; and the few Yúsufzís with him, and his own Mahmandí Khaṭaks, did not know what to do. One of the head-men of the latter told him:—"Seven eighths of the Khaṭaks "are on the side of Bahrám, and we Mahmandís, who are but an eighth, cannot fight "so many." He, accordingly, advised that the Khán should leave Totakí, and that, in a few days, his (the head-man's) clan would join him; and that all should depart and go into Ṭíraey Tsautara'h,§ and dwell there. The man's object was to get the Khán away, after which they could manage to appease Bahrám. Others of the Mahmandí clan refused to abandon the old Khán in his adversity; and they urged, that they should set to, at once, against Bahrám's force, lest the rest of the Mahmandís should likewise desert his cause. This advice was acted upon. The Khán could only send out about 30 or 40 horsemen, under Mullá 'Usmán, against Bahrám, who was about one kuroh distant, but, when these few appeared, Bahrám's force, not knowing what desertions had taken place among them, became nervous, thinking Khush-ḥál Khán's whole force was upon them, and they began to disperse, but, finding how few they were, they again began to rally.

Khush-ḥál Khán says, that, if he had only had the whole of the deserters along with him, he could have defeated Bahrám's force in such a way, that no one would have known the fate of his comrade. Nevertheless, Bahrám, finding what a strong position his father held, and knowing that he would make a desperate struggle, did not attempt to attack it very seriously, and retired towards Nashúra'h,‖ which road was left unguarded.

The old Khán returned towards Totakí, where he had left his own family and those of his other sons, while those who had deserted him [when Bahrám drew near], had gone off to the Gharbín Darga'h,¶ and to Sar-Aobey to look after theirs'; and thus was he left with only 30 horsemen and 50 foot. He continues: "I had given strict orders to "my family not to leave Totakí on any account, but, when the enemy drew near, "the wife of Ashraf Khán, Afzal Khán's mother, who perceived them from a long "distance, and some others, fled, leaving everything behind them. When I entered "the Totakí Dara'h in order to bring them back, both horse and foot of the enemy "were moving along the heights; and they commenced discharging their arrows at "me. Some of them had pushed on in pursuit of the females; and, on entering the

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stream rises in the mountains a few miles north of Jammú of the Afrídís. The dara'h in which it lies Khush-ḥál calls the Totakí Dara'h. It is the "Indurra" of the maps.

* Khush-ḥál having given up the chieftain-ship in favour of Ashraf, his eldest son.

† "Patiálá" of the gazetteers, and "Puttiala" of the maps. It is a district inhabited by the Boláḳ sub-division of the Khaṭak Kaṛlárnís, and lies west of the ferry at Khush-ḥál Gaṛh. Ziyaṛa'h lies north of it.

‡ Mena'h in Pus'hto signifies a place of habitation or a dwelling. The "n" in the word is sometimes changed for "l," as in some other words, and is then pronounced *mela'h*. Here the word is changed by inflection to *meney*.

§ Ṭiraey *and* Tsautara'h really, but the names of the two districts are generally written together thus by the author.

‖ Also Lashúra'h, "l" being substituted for "n." "Lashora" of the maps.

¶ See page 402.

"Dara'h, I was in front; Ashraf and his few horsemen, were close behind me, and "evening was coming on. All at once, I perceived a great number of horsemen "approaching, and thought they might be the Afrídís coming to my aid, but, on closer "inspection, seeing saffron-coloured garments, I knew them to be the enemy."*

After a hand-to-hand fight in the pass, most of the saffron-coloured horsemen were killed by Khush-ḥál Khán (who with his own hand slew two of them), his sons and grandsons, consisting, besides Ashraf, of 'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, Niẓám, and Yaḥyá, together with Malik Sulímán and Kalá Khán, the Afrídí. "It was" says Khush-ḥál, "the "time of evening prayer, when, after this lamentable strife, in which one part of a "family has to shed the blood of another, we set out to overtake the fugitive families. "When we overtook them, we found them in a terrible state of fright; and mothers "were unable to find their children. I now intended to take up my quarters at Saṛ-"Aobey,† but there was no water procurable there. I sent off the families to "Danbara'h, and there was no water there either; so we set out for the village of "Manṣúr Mena'h, and even there water was scarce; for it had to be brought from a "dara'h in the mountains near by, and so we were obliged to stay there for a short time. "Next day, we started at dawn, and, at mid-day, reached a watercourse or rivulet, "where we remained until the time of afternoon prayers, and then moved on again. "We had no cooking vessels and no grain; so were obliged to push on once more, and "reached Da Anáro Kats,‡ where we passed the night among the jujube *jangal*. The "Mahmandí families along with us again took up their quarters in the Ziyaṛa'h "*tapa'h*, in Gharbín and Gharíba'h, but we halted at Jammú."§

These events took place shortly before the annihilation of the Mughal army under Muḥammad Amín Khán at the Gharíb Khána'h *Kotal* in the Khaibar, related at page 40; and, some time after that event, Khush-ḥál took advantage of the state of affairs and resolved to drive Bahrám out of Akoṛa'h. Having gathered some fresh strength, and the Adam Khel Afrídís having come to his support, he proceeded from Ráj-gar by Jammú and the Níl-áb Ghás'haey to Palosí, and afterwards to Niẓám-púr. Then setting out with his available forces, he marched into the *tapa'h* of the Aoriá Khel by the Mír-i-Kalán Ghás'haey‖ or Pass. The Khán says, in his Diary, "Bahrám, too, had occupied the Súniála'h Ghás'haey farther up. I crowned the "heights along the route with the infantry, and with the horse proceeded up the "Ghás'haey. The men sent on the west side soon drove off the enemy there; and "Bahrám, on this, retired down to the mouth or entrance of the Súniála'h Ghás'haey "again [that is, towards the north], and fell back on the village of Mihrájí¶ at the "entrance of it." Gaining strength as he advanced by the Káwar *Dara'h*, and sending his footmen by the Bandar Kando route, Khush-ḥál Khán burnt Bukhta'h because its Aoriá Khel people were unfriendly, and then marched to Sháh Koṭ, which was also set on fire and burnt. Mustering his forces there, he found they amounted to the respectable number of nearly 4,000 men, of whom between 300 or 400 were cavalry. Dividing this force into three divisions, one of Khaṭaks and two of Afrídís, he moved on to Bukhta'h.** At Spín Káṟnaey†† was the village of Darwáza'h of the Fatḥ Khel, and that too was fired.

"Bahrám was posted at Hoṭí da Ghlo,‡‡ where he had thrown up breastworks; and the sound of his kettledrums could be distinctly heard. We advanced, the Khaṭaks

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* Ráj-púts, apparently, in the Mughal service, as Mughal forces were sent along with Bahrám's party.

† Saṛ-Aobey signifies cool water, or the place of cool water, which, at one time, gave name to the spot.

‡ *See* note †, page 317.

§ Gharíba'h is in the Jammú dara'h or valley, in the Jz'wákí Afrídí territory, lying close to the westernmost part of the Khaṭak dara'h of Ziyaṛa'h. A force moving from S'hádí-púr by the Ziyaṛa'h *tapa'h* could reach it.

There is no village called "Jummoo," as might be supposed from the maps: Jammú is the name of the dara'h or valley.

‖ This pass lies about five miles to the south-west of the Súniála'h pass, and is so called after the village of that name near its eastern entrance. It leads to Pes'háwar, and also to Koháṭ through the Khaṭak country, but it is rather a roundabout way, and at present, through other roads to Koháṭ having been made available, its importance is not so great in that respect, but, in times of local disturbance, should necessity arise, other passes near by might be turned by it and *vice versâ*, as shown above. The Khaṭaks had used this road for centuries, and yet we are told in a recent compilation that it was "discovered" by Major Coke in 1855.

¶ "Maharaji" of the maps. Bahrám's object here is evident, for, had he not done so, Khush-ḥál would have got into his rear.

** "Bukhtai" of the map.

†† Literally, "White-stone" or "White-rock," in Pus'hto. It is in the tract inhabited by the Ismá'il Khel Khaṭaks. It is made "Spínkahk" of by some, but appears in the map as a village under the name of "Speenkana."

‡‡ Neither this, nor many other well known places here mentioned, are to be found in our maps.

in front, and the Afrídís in the rear; and, on my reaching the Khwaṛa'h* of Lukaṛa'í, Bahrám's forces gave way, and dispersed in all directions. We followed them; and, at the shrine of the Shaikh, Raḥím-Kár,† our advance fell in with some of them, killed a few, took some prisoners, and carried off a number of cattle. I then encamped at and around Wala'í;‡ and great was the consternation in that part. The whole of the disaffected Khaṭak clans might have been slaughtered, captured, or plundered, but this I did not seek to do. All night the people were crossing the river of Kábul; and several boats were wrecked from being overcrowded. Koṭ Saráe was totally abandoned. Continuing to advance, I proceeded on the route towards Áwa'h, and, opposite Ísoṛí, got into the *sháh-ráh* or royal road, and burnt the Ísoṛí, Dangarzí, Shaidú, and Tarí villages; and from thence marched on to Khair-ábád, and directed that the camp should be pitched at Nariála'h. I remained until the gateways [of Khair-ábád]§ were burnt in my presence; and, having ordered that all the large buildings should be overthrown, I proceeded to my camp.

"The garrison of the fort of Aṭak now opened fire; and the cannon balls began to pass over our heads: consequently, some of the force fell farther back [out of gunshot], but I remained where I was, and directed that my kettledrums should beat the roll of victory, upon which the Mughals in the fort of Aṭak began to beat the *naubat*."

Next day, Khush-ḥál paraded his force for the Mughals to see; and he says, "They "extended from the Káwaz-war Dara'h‖ to Khair-ábád and Mandú Khel, and appeared "to good advantage. After that I encamped at the 'Áshiḳah To-e;¶ and, burning "the villages of the disaffected near the hills as I went along, marched back to "Nizám-púr again by the Garáng Ghás'haey or Pass. The Afrídís, who had behaved "so well, were now allowed to return home, and to take salt with them free of duty, "but a few of them still remained with me."

Khush-ḥál Khán, it will be noticed, had made a complete circuit back to Nizám-púr again, thus showing the practicable nature of the routes he followed in so doing. Continuing his narrative, he says: "I remained for some days at Nizám-púr, after "which I sent out a force under 'Ábid Khán [his son], and Mullá 'Uṣmán, and others, "in all about 60 horsemen, by the Súniála'h Ghás'haey or Pass, to drive off the cattle "of the Zá Khel and Yúsuf Khel; and, having succeeded in their object, they brought "them in by the Ḳarmezí Ghás'haey, and joined me again at Gharbín. I then "proceeded by the Gharbín Ghás'haey to Ráj-gaṛ; and at this time I received "a letter from Ashraf [who, as head of the Khaṭaks, was then in attendance on the "Ṣúbah-dár], saying that his rank had been increased, and the Tarí Boláḳ district "conferred upon him. This good news filled us all with delight."

Subsequently, Khush-ḥál Khán undertook an expedition against Noh-s'hahr or Noh-s'hahra'h, and came to an understanding beforehand with the Afrídís, when at Kunḍ-yálaey, to take part in it. Tátár Khán, brother of the renowned Daryá Khán, with a body of his Afrídí clansmen, came by the Jammú route into the Khwaṛa'h, while Khush-ḥál, with the Boláḳ Khaṭaks, moved, by the Gharbín Ghás'haey or Pass, from his residence at Ráj-gaṛ, into the Khwaṛa'h also. Arrived therein, he found that Tátár Khán had moved to Jánah-gaṛ by way of Boṛí, upon which, Khush-ḥál, making two halts at Ḳarmezí, set out to join him, and came down, by the Ḳarmezí Ghás'haey or Pass, to Ismá'íl Khel. The same day the Afrídís joined him, and his forces now numbered between 7,000 and 8,000 men. The next move was to the

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* "Lukrai" of the maps. Khwaṛa'h, in Pus'hto, means the sandy bed or bottom of a ravine or water-course.

† This is MacGregor's "Káká Khel Ziárat." He says, "The saint whose tomb is here is *one* Káká Sahib, "who is venerated by all the tribes round, and who gives his name to the Káká Khél. Káká Sahib was the "brother of a chief of the Khataks." The Shaikh in question was the contemporary of Khush-ḥál Khán, and his spiritual guide. Káká Ṣáḥib is the familiar name by which he was known, as Pír Bábá is applied to the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí. *See* page 248. The Shaikh's descendants are known, as above mentioned, as the Káká Khel. Káká is the Hindí for paternal uncle. *See* note ‡, page 420.

In a report to Government by Lieutenant H. B. Lumsden, in 1851, he styles the Shaikh, Raḥím-Kár, by the strange name of "*Shaik Rahum Rao*," thus making a Hindú of him, and makes sad havoc among other proper names of persons and places.

‡ "Wullai" of the maps. It is about two miles north of the Ziárat of Raḥím-Kár. It is the residence of the chief man of the Shaikh's family.

§ This fort was in existence ages before the Sikhs obtained a footing in these parts. *See* page 33, also my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 193.

‖ This should not be mistaken for the Gáwaz Dara'h, which runs north-east from Ṭorkaey Súraey towards the shrine of the Shaikh, Allah-Dád; for that Dara'h is in the Jz'wákí Afrídí territory, and this is near Khair-ábád. *See* page 439.

¶ This To-e or Stream, and the Sájza'h To-e mentioned farther on, rise in the mountains bounding the Khwaṛa'h on the north, and unite with the Indus south and east of Nizám-púr.

Jaba'h, and then to Dágúnah,* and there he disposed his forces. The Khaṭaks were marshalled in two bodies, the Tarís in one and the Boláks in the other, and the Afrídís in three bodies, the first of the Aká Khel, the second of the Khaṭorí, and the third of the 'Áiysha'h Khel.† The next move was by the Jaba'h‡ to Pír Piáwa'h village, which was set on fire, but the villages of the Zá Khel and Yúsuf Khel were spared. Some 3,000 men occupied the Koṭ or fort of Noh-s'hahr, but they did not venture to appear outside.

Positions having been selected for attacking it, and taken up, the Khaṭaks on the west and north sides, and the Afrídís on the east and south, they commenced the assault—it was the middle of the day—and in the course of one watch (three hours) carried it. There was great slaughter among the Mughals and others, including some other Afgháns, but the Khaṭaks were spared.§ "The Afrídís," says Khush-ḥál, "took to plundering, and what they obtained they decamped with, and, consequently, "I must needs follow, although I wished to stay there for the night. Likewise, I was "under the necessity of setting all the Khaṭak prisoners at liberty, who thought they "were to have been taken along with me."

Khush-ḥál Khán intended to have returned to Noh-s'hahr again, and to have burnt down the old fort there, but he and his followers encountered a heavy fall of rain which wetted them to the skin, and therefore he moved to Niẓám-púr, to provide for the safety of the Tsíní‖ families, by way of the Mír-i-Kalán Ghás'haey or Pass, and, subsequently, returned to Ráj-gar by way of the Sájzah To-e. These events happened shortly before the overthrow of the forces of Aurang-zeb, under Jaswant Singh and Shujá'at Khán, by Ae-mal Khán, Afrídí, at Khápash, in 1085 H. (1674–75 A.D.), referred to previously at page 42, and about two years subsequent to the annihilation of the Mughal army in the Khaibar Pass, related at page 40.

Some considerable time after, upon one occasion, Ashraf Khán, in whose favour his father, Khush-ḥál Khán, had previously resigned the chieftain-ship of his tribe, moved to Gumbata'h, because the Mahmandí clan of the Khaṭaks were rebellious; and Afẓal, Ashraf's son, and author of the history often quoted in these "Notes," had to go and chastise them. This incessant civil strife was caused through the fickleness and avarice of the Khaṭak tribe generally, who were constantly changing sides, sometimes being hand in glove with Bahrám, and at others supporting their rightful chief, but, after a time, they were equally ready to betray him into the hands of his rival and the Mughals, his rival's supporters.

Afẓal Khán says, "They (the Mahmandís) had fled from Gumbata'h, and had "returned into the Khwara'h again; and there they began to say that Bahrám, who "was collecting his followers, had acquired great power, and it would soon be seen "what dimensions the affair would assume." They also said that, secretly, they should pay court to him; and very probably they did so. Afẓal Khán continues:—

"Having come from Spín Kárnaey to Dzalúzí, on my march towards Saráe, the Mahmandí Maliks came to take their leave of me, on which I directed them to accompany me as far as Saráe, in order that the force then along with me might, in the eyes of the (Khaṭak) people, generally, seem larger than it was.

"Both at Kahí and Shiga'h,¶ they were told that their intrigues with Bahrám had all been discovered, and that if they accompanied me they would all either be killed or imprisoned. I, however, entertained no evil intentions in my heart towards them; and, without knowing anything of their suspicions and fears, continued on my road towards Saráe by way of Noh-s'hahr. After I had reached it they were going to follow me as before; and, it being the hot season, I got on board a boat with the intention

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* "Dag" of the maps.

† The Khaṭorí and 'Áiysha'h Khel are two of the three sections of the Adam Khel, and contain minor subdivisions. They are so called from their respective mothers, Khaṭoṛa'í and 'Áiysha'h, the wives of Adam, Afrídí. There is no Afrídí clan, whether Adam Khel or other, called "Asha Khél" or "Ashú Khel," or "Ashazai": all these are merely errors for 'Áiysha'h Khel.

‡ Jaba'h signifies a marsh, bog, or mere. There are several places so called from their proximity to marshes or marshy ground. *See* page 437, where it is again mentioned.

§ This successful affair he alludes to in his poem recounting the successes of the Afgháns over the Mughals. *See* my "Afghán Poetry," page 151, verse 4.

‖ Those, who cannot realize the pronunciation of the Pus'hto letter "*ts*," style these Khaṭaks "Senís" and "Chínís," just as in the case of "*dz*" in the name of the village of the Dzalúzí, which is turned into "Jalozzaí" and "Julozai."

The Tsínís must not be mistaken for the Sínís or Sírnís, who dwell farther south, at and around Gumbata'h, south-west of Da Beyalo Tang.

¶ "Shuggai" of the maps. Shiga'h, in Pus'hto, means sand, gravel, pebble, etc., the plural form of which is *shigey*. Shiga'í means sandy, gravelly, or pebbly soil. Afẓal Khán always writes the name as above. "Shuggai" is, of course, meaningless.

of dropping down the river to Saráe. They were, however, so worked upon by the rascal, Hakímaey, who shed crocodile tears, and told them that they were going to certain death, and so frightened, that they asked him what they should do. He said, 'Make 'some excuse respecting the *kulang* [revenue]; and with all the Mahmandís leave the 'Khwara'h and retire into the Ziyara'h *tapa'h*. He will then send a deputation after 'us, and we shall then be able to make terms, and extort promises of safety for our 'lives, before going to him again.' They also consulted with others, who gave them similar advice; and the upshot was that they fled from Noh-s'hahr into the Khwara'h by the Súniála'h road. . . . On the fourth day, some men reached me from the Khwara'h with the news, that, certain Maliks having fled from Noh-s'hahr, the people were dispersing. I sent Malik Shamsher thither to assure them of safety, and remove their doubts. When he reached the Khwara'h, the rascal, Hakímaey, who had come down the Súniála'h Ghás'haey or Pass, would not return to the Khwara'h; and some persons went to Bahrám, and told him that they had caused the dispersion of the people from the Khwara'h, and advised that he should despatch a son of his own, with the Afrídí troops [in his pay], and that then whoever were well disposed towards his cause would join him, and those who were not could be compelled to decamp. Bahrám acted on this advice, and despatched his son to the Khwara'h accordingly.

"I had sent Sikandar Khán [his uncle] direct from my presence [at Saráe] to assure the minds of the Mahmandís, and, on his arrival among them there, stumbled upon the whole Afrídí force. They made after him, but he retired by the Gumbata'h Ghás'haey or Pass to Súniála'h in good order, and sent me word of what had happened. I then, without delay, moved to Mihrájí; and, when I reached it, spies brought me news that the enemy had marched by the Mír-i-Kalán Ghás'haey towards Lashkarí Mela'h,* in hopes of aid from Malik Salím, the Tsíní, and his clan. Next morning I sent a force to Súniála'h against Salím, and to tell him that the enemy had merely come in expectation of obtaining aid from him, and that he should go and break the bone of contention with the enemy, or I would burn the village about his ears; and such of the Tsínís as were loyal to me, which they mostly were, I sent along with him for that purpose. The enemy's force, however, perceiving them at a distance, did not consider it advisable to wait for them, and retired down to Gárú. I moved by the Tsaparí† route to Salím's village, and encamped there. Before sunrise I again moved, and descended to Súniála'h. Some of the enemy's footmen [with Bahrám's son before referred to] had gone to Gumbata'h, but, seeing some of my footmen, they retired in disorder on their main body, which became shaky, and also began to retire. I detached Sikandar Khán with a body of horse in pursuit; and he, having followed them to Da Morío Mela'h,‡ being without provisions or forage, was unable to keep up the pursuit. That night I passed at Gárú. It was the time for water-melons; and the whole *maira'h* [desert plain] of Gumbata'h was so covered with melons, that, although the enemy's force had taken as many as they liked, and the men of my force did the same, there did not appear to be any diminution of the numbers.

"Next morning I moved to Da Kamar Mela'h, and the enemy retired to Sar-Aobey of the Afrídís, their object being, if they could get us out into the open country, to slaughter us. I was on my way back to Nizám-púr, and they [the runaway Mahmandís], fool-like, sent a deputation to me, asking me to receive their apologies, and offered to make the most solemn promises that, if pardoned this time, they would never commit themselves again. Their object, however, was merely to play with me, but, as I wanted a pretext for returning to Nizám-púr, I accepted their promises for what they were worth, and returned thither accordingly, but my ear was open to hear of their evil doings.

"News subsequently reached me from the Dzalúzís, that, the horsemen who were with Bahrám's party having taken to flight, he had raised a body of between 400 and 500 foreign horsemen; and that those of his forces who were at Sar-Aobey of the Afrídís, having united with this body of horse, intended to come to Dzalúzí (village). I took into consideration that if I went thither again, they would be in their own homes, so to say, and I certainly would not fight in the Afrídí country; for of what use was it to do so? I therefore thought it advisable to encamp at Mihrájí, and if they came out into the open country I could act as occasion might require:

* As previously remarked, Mela'h and Mena'h are used one for the other, and both signify the same thing.

† "Chaprí," "Chaparí," and "Saparí" of the maps and gazetteers, the Pus'hto "*ts*" not being realized. There is but one place so named in the neighbourhood, not two.

‡ This, and many other places and passes here mentioned, do not appear in our maps.

if they did not, it would not matter; for I should be then in my own house as it wer I sent out 100 horsemen to Dzalúzí to watch the movements of Bahrám's force; an he, one night, finding the open country clear, marched to Dzalúzí. One watch of th night remained when this news reached me at Mihráji, and before day broke I was o my march thither. By the time the sun appeared I had reached the Jaba'h of the Aorí Khel; and I then moved by the Sháh Koṭ road, and, while we were marching toward Dzalúzí, the enemy's force had moved out of that place, and had passed beyond the Zíárat of Shaikh Mírzá on the Sháh Koṭ road. Suddenly, we encountered each other and when the enemy perceived us they were filled with consternation. The Afrídí matchlock men behaved well; and, in the first charge, in which two of my men were wounded, the enemy broke, and fled by two different roads, pursued by my troops in both directions. The strange horsemen, who had been enlisted at Pas'háur, fled in the direction of that place, and were pursued as far as Dzalúzí. Of the enemy, who were on foot and on horseback, Afrídís and others, a number, amounting to near upon 100, were killed, and nearly 500 horse and foot made prisoners between the scene of their defeat and Bostán Darga'h; and we returned triumphant to Dzalúzí. Arrived there, I released those who had been captured, for they were not such enemies that there was any occasion for their extermination, and had chiefly gathered around Bahrám in hopes of plunder, and enough had been killed to make the chastisement sufficient.

"Bahrám escaped with difficulty; and, during the flight and final scene at Bostán Darga'h,* some of the enemy, in fear for their lives, entered that cane forest, and a wild hog, frightened thereat, issued forth, and fled along by the side of Bahrám. A person found the date of this successful fight in the words, '*Khanzír pah lár*'—'The Hog on the road,' which is 1111 H. (1699 A.D.).† After this we returned triumphant to Saráe.

"At this time, the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was Ṣúbah-dár of Multán; and I reported to him the death of Amír Khán,‡ the Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul [referred to in another place], and my success."

Afẓal Khán, the intelligent Khaṭak chief from whose valuable history the preceding extracts have been taken, at his death left eight sons,§ three of whom were the most notable; two, Sa'd-ullah Khán, and Muḥammad 'Alí Khán, in a political point of view, but the fame of the third, Káẓim Khán, the Poet, is more likely to be handed down to posterity. The former of the two took up his residence at Akoṛa'h, and the latter at Ṭíraey; and this was the primary cause of another split in the Khaṭak tribe;|| for, in Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání's, reign, Sa'ádat Khán, son of Sa'd-ullah, accompanied him into Hind, where he greatly distinguished himself; and, during his absence, his cousin, Lashkar Khán, son of Muḥammad 'Alí Khán of Ṭíraey, attacked Akoṛa'h, and murdered Sa'd-ullah, and his son, Ja'far Khán. This act of treachery was subsequently revenged by Sa'ádat Khán, who put the murderer to death. Sa'ádat was raised to the title of Sar-faráz Khán by Tímúr Sháh, son of Aḥmad Sháh;¶ and he was the last Khaṭak chief who held sway over the whole tribe.

When Azád Khán, Bámízí, Durrání, rebelled in Kash-mír, which matter has been previously referred to,** among the feudatories who accompanied the army of the Sar-dár, Madad Khán, a Najíb-ullah Khán, Khaṭak, is mentioned; and, when these surveys were made, Yúsuf Khán was chief of the Akoṛa'h Khaṭaks,†† and Sháh-báz

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* Darga'h, in Pus'hto, means a copse, or brake, a cane forest, or the like, where trees or underwood grows close together. There are several in the Khaṭak country, and round it.

† The year 1111 H. began on the 18th June, 1699 A.D.

‡ *See* page 445.

§ In his "Central Asia," Part I., MacGregor says, in an account of the Khaṭak tribe, but from whence derived I am unaware, that Afẓal Khán, son of Ashraf Khán, "had two sons," but this, as shown above, is not correct. Here are their names:—Sa'd-ullah, Muḥammad 'Alí, Káẓim, Asad-ullah, Muḥammad Ashraf, Sa'íd, Ḥasan 'Alí, and Saif-ullah.

Káẓim, the poet, who wrote under the name of Shaidá, I have given an account of, together with some of his poems, which may be considered the most polished of any in the Afghán language, in my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 305; and the originals will be found in my "Gulshan-i-Roh."

|| The Ságharí Boláḳs, including the Bangí Khel, it must be remembered, had separated from the other Khaṭaks long before, as mentioned in note †, page 430. Malik Akoṛ or Akoṛaey, and his son Yúsuf, were both assassinated by the Boláḳ division of the tribe; and Yaḥyá Khán, Akoṛaey's son, avenged his father and brother by slaughtering numbers of the Boláḳs. From that time the separation alluded to by Khush-ḥál in the note just referred to took place.

¶ Compare Hai'át Khán's account, Priestly's Translation, page 212, from which the above differs very considerably.

** *See* note *, page 279.

†† *See* page 34.

Khán, son of Sa'd-ullah Khán, a younger brother of Sa'ádat Khán, otherwise the Sar-afráz* Khán, was chief of the Ṭíraey Khaṭaks, as already mentioned.†

A few years afterwards, when Sháh-i-Zamán, Durrání, entered the Panj-áb, to endeavour to recover the Durrání dominions in that quarter, and entered Láhor in 1211 H. (1796–97 A.D.), the Khaṭak contingent accompanied him.‡ The Bádsháh had to abandon his enterprise through an outbreak in the western part of his dominions, and march back from Láhor, which he quitted in Sha'bán, 1211 H. (February, 1797 A.D.). Among his Sar-dárs was Núr-ullah Khán, Khaṭak,§ with a body of 500 Khaṭak cavalry; and there was also a contingent of 300 Koháṭ Karlárnís, furnished by Azíz-ullah Khán, Koháṭí; and he held Koháṭ in fief, with its dependencies, for their maintenance. Lashkar Khán, the Kamálzí Yúsufzí, whose clan dwell near Pes'háwar (around Torú), who were also tributary to the Bádsháh, furnished about 500 spearmen, and sometimes many more. On this occasion there were 300 Yúsufzí horsemen under Aḥmad Khán, and 2,000 cavalry of his own; Bahádur Khán, Muḥammadzí, son of Faiẓ-Ṭalab Khán, with 500 horse; and Bostán Khán, Durrání, at the head of 1,000. These contingents, with other troops, to the number of 6,000 or 7,000 men, with 100 *shahangs*—camel swivels—and four pieces of artillery, under the command of Aḥmad Khán, Bárakzí, the Shahangchí Báshí, were left to hold possession of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah.

The author from whose work the above statement is taken, and who writes from his personal knowledge, adds :—" The chiefs of the Khaṭak tribe have been *jágírdárs* of " the Gúrgániah Sulṭáns of Hind for several generations; and, at present, under the " Durrání government, the fortress of Aṭak and town of Akora'h, with other towns, " villages, and lands, as far east as the Níl-áb ferry, are held by Núr-ullah Khán; and " the revenue of the two ferries [Aṭak and Níl-áb] is devoted to the payment of himself " and *dasta'h*—corps—consisting of an efficient body of 500 horse equipped with fire- " arms. The chief is a pleasant, good-natured, and good-tempered person, noble in " conduct and bearing, and straightforward; and the whole of the Khaṭak tribe " dwelling on the banks of the Sind are subject to his authority. A'ẓam Khán " [successor, and probably the son, of Ma'áz Khán, previously mentioned as chief when " these surveys were made], the Wálí of Makhad, likewise furnishes a contingent of " 500 horse to the Bádsháh's army."‖

When the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone returned from Pes'háwar, from his mission to the Court of Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk, the chief of the Akora'h Khaṭaks, he says, was " Asoph Khaun,"¶ whom he describes as " a very respectable looking man, " very handsomely dressed, and well attended." At the time Moorcroft and Trebeck were on their journey to Pes'háwar, the chief of the Akora'h Khaṭaks was 'Abbás Khán, son of Fíruz Khán, son of Núr-ullah Khán (previously mentioned); and the chief of the Ṭíraey Khaṭaks was Khush-hál Khán [son of Arsalá Khán, son of Náṣir Khán, son of Sháh-báz Khán, of the time of these surveys]. Moorcroft says, " he " ('Abbás) had only recently returned from Láhor, where he had been to tender " allegiance to Ran-jít Singh. We were assailed by various reports of the predatory " habits of this person, and of his people, and were assured that he had been " encouraged by Ran-jít to oppose impediments to our journey, if not actually to " plunder us. Some intimation of such a purpose showed itself in the pass of Gidar " Gali, where a number of persons rolled down stones from the tops of the hills upon " our foremost cattle."

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* Sar-afráz, or Sar-faráz, as it is also written, signifiés " eminent," " exalted," " distinguished," etc. Sa'ádat Khán is sometimes called Sa'ádat-mand Khán.

† The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, who came into these parts on his way to Kábul in 1196 H. (1782 A.D.), and proceeded from Níl-áb to Pes'háwar by the Mír-i-Kalán Pass and Dzalúzí, says, that at that time the whole country between Dzalúzí and Níl-áb was under the sway of Sháh-Báz Khán, chief of the Khaṭak tribe.

‡ At this time, which was about five years after the MS. of these surveys was completed, Zardád Khán, Popalzí, was governor of the Pes'háwar province. He is described as " a man mild and humane, honest and " just, discerning and discreet, not avaricious, and much liked by the people whom he governed."

§ This was seven years after these surveys were completed.

‖ The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, who preceded the author of these surveys by about ten years, says, " the " people of Makhaḍ are Afgháns of the Khaṭak tribe, subjects of Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul, and are " generally engaged in hostilities with the Sikhs," but he does not mention the name of the chief.

¶ He means " Aṣaf Khán," son of Sa'ádat Khán, and the nephew of Sháh-báz Khán, who ruled at Akoṛa'h for his uncle, but the above is as he wrote the name. Hai'át Khán, Kaṭhar, in his book, follows Elphinstone, but the former's statements are not to be implicitly depended upon, as his summary of Khaṭak history indicates; which may be compared with that in MacGregor's work with much advantage as well as amusement, particularly as far as Khush-ḥál and his son Ashraf are concerned; and may be well termed curiosities of history.

'Abbás Khán's conduct with respect to the Sikh ruler was by no means approved of by his tribe, according to the same author, and Khush-ḥál Khán* of Ṭíraey particularly reprobated it. Their differences were, however, supposed to have been adjusted when the sister of 'Abbás Khán was given in marriage to Khush-ḥál Khán. The latter was subsequently invited to Akoṛa'h to a hunting party. He came with a few attendants, and was at first received with all outward marks of cordiality; but, at the first hunting excursion, he was set upon by armed men, employed by 'Abbás Khán for the purpose, and assassinated. Next day 'Abbás Khán marched to endeavour to surprise Ṭíraey, a strong position, but the news of Khush-ḥál Khán's murder had preceded him, and the mother of the murdered man closed the gates; and he gave up the attempt. Such is the account given by Moorcroft; but, according to other accounts, 'Abbás Khán, Khaṭak, with a body of his tribe, joined the forces of the Sar-dár, A'ẓam Khán, Bárakzí, against the Sikhs; and, when the Sar-dár retired, 'Abbás Khán and his tribesmen joined the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and took part in the disastrous battle of Noh-s'hahra'h, on the left or northern bank of the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul, which was fought on the 14th of March, 1823, and perished with the greater part of his followers. Moorcroft, who reached Pes'háwar in December, 1824, speaks of "the "recent engagement." There must be some error in the dates and circumstances mentioned by him, because it is notorious at Pes'háwar that 'Abbás Khán was killed in that battle, and a ballad on the subject was composed by a minstrel whose poetical name was Ḥakím, and was very popular at Pes'háwar, even as late as 1849–50.

Eighty-second Route. From Pes'háwar to S'hádí-púr, which Route leads to Láhor.

"These are really two roads. The left-hand one, which is the nearest, and about twenty-five kuroh, is the most onerous. It leads through a difficult mountain tract, in which there is scarcity of water, and in which the nomads of the Khaṭak tribe dwell.

"The right-hand road is as follows. From Pes'háwar to Mitanní, and Zarghún Khel of the Afrídís, the road has been already described in the preceding route. Setting out from Zarghún Khel, you proceed six kuroh in the direction of east to Torkaey Súraey,† a small hamlet—or really two, close to each other—on the way to which you have to pass through much *jangal*, and water is very scarce. From this place the large village of Togh is distant eight kuroh in the direction of south-west, towards Kohát; and the road is of much the same description as before.

"Leaving Torkaey Súraey, you go five kuroh in the direction of north-east, and reach the Ziárat—signifying a place of pilgrimage—of the Mián, Shaikh Allah-Dád,‡ around which a small village has sprung up, built on the side of a ravine. Another stage of four kuroh from thence in the direction of west brings you to S'hádí-púr,§ a small village, situated on the hill side, on the bank of the Abáe-Sín, overlooking the river; and the road from Torkaey Súraey to this place is of much the same description as before. There is a ferry here."

Eighty-third Route. From Akoṛa'h to Málg-ín by way of S'hádí-púr and Khush-ḥál Garh.

"Setting out from Akoṛa'h, you proceed twelve kuroh in the direction of south, and reach the small village of Amír. The road, for great part of the way, lies through a mountainous tract of country, with numerous ascents and descents, in which water is scarce. You then proceed another two kuroh in the direction of south,

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* This is the person, apparently, who is referred to by MacGregor in his work under the strange name of "Khúshiál." The name given above has a signification: "Khúshiál" has none. In the same way the name of the present chief of the Ṭíraey Khaṭaks is Khwájah Muḥammad, not "Khoja Mahamad." The Nawwáb, Sir Khwájah Muḥammad Khán, K.C.S.I., is the son of the great great grandson of Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, the author of the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa', who was the grandson of the renowned Khush-ḥál Khán, the warrior and poet, but in a report entitled "Rough Notes on the Khattaks," by Lieutenant F. R. Pollock, the latter says that the "present *contractor*" of "Téree," alluding to the above-mentioned Khwájah Muḥammad Khán, is only "an *adopted son* of the widow of Khushhal Khan," son of Náṣir 'Alí Khán, son of Sháh Báz Khán, a grandson of Muḥammad Afzal Khán, whose writings I have been quoting.

† The "Turkí" and "Sẉerí" probably of official reports, and "Toorki" and "Swayree" of the maps. Súraey, in Pus'hto, signifies "a gap," "a hole," "a passage," "an orifice," etc.

‡ It is called "Shekh Aladád," and "Shaikh Aladad," in the maps and in official documents, but "Ziárat of Shaikh Allah-Dád" is the correct name; for the village has sprung up around the shrine.

§ It still continues a very small place, and contains only about 150 inhabitants. Since the annexation of the Panj-áb a road has been made by our Engineers from this place to Kohát. *See* note **, page 441.

inclining south-east, to Gajjú Khel,* a small Khaṭak village, and then another two kuroh, in the same direction as before, to Nammal, another small village of the Khaṭaks. From this place the next stage is S'hádí-púr, previously mentioned, distant eight kuroh in the direction of south, inclining south-west, over the Níl-áb Ghás'haey or Pass. At this point two roads diverge.† The right-hand one leads to Kohát by way of the Ziárat of the Mián, Shaikh Allah-Dád, and the left-hand road is as follows.

"From S'hádí-púr you go twelve kuroh south, inclining a little to the south-west, to Khush-ḥál Gaṛh, subsequently mentioned, and by the way experience difficulty in obtaining water. A lofty hill-tract lies on the right hand as you proceed; and the Abáe-Sín shows itself in a depression of the mountains on the left. The next stage is six kuroh to the south-west, to the Khaṭak village of Nak-band;‡ and from thence another six kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, bring you to the banks of the Kághzí river§—the Resa'í ferry lying about two and a half kurohs on the left hand—which comes from the right hand, from the direction of the villages of the S'hádí Khel clan, and, running for a distance of six or seven kuroh towards the left hand, unites with the Abáe-Sín. From thence a long stage of fourteen kuroh takes you through the district or territory of Khwaṛama'h,‖ so called after a branch of the Bolák Khaṭaks inhabiting it, to Málg-ín, previously noticed. You have a range of hills near by on the left hand nearly all the way, until near Málg-ín, and a range of mountains on the right, but distant, beyond the Kághzí river. The road is of much the same description as that from Akoṛa'h to Amír."

Eighty-fourth Route. From Laka'í to Ṭíṭa'í.

"Setting out from Laka'í, and proceeding ten kuroh to the east, you reach the river of Kurma'h; and this stage they (the people) style the Tangaey, that is to say, the entrance to, or mouth of, a dara'h or gorge or defile among the mountains, on the south bank of the river. On the way you pass through much cultivation, but the road is very sandy. The Gamíla'h river flows near by on the left hand for some distance, the first part of the way, and farther north, distant about a kuroh or more, is the river of Kurma'h, which flows parallel to it, and then unites with it; and the combined streams continue their course for about seven kuroh to the Tangaey before mentioned, and, subsequently, unite with the Abáe-Sín. The road skirts the banks for the greater part of the way. This tract is peopled by the Marwat tribe, who follow a nomadic life.¶

"After heavy rains, the united rivers at the Tangaey, where the hills prevent the waters from spreading out, become so flooded as to be impassable; but the waters generally subside, and find their way to the Abáe-Sín, in the course of a day and night.

"Proceeding from the entrance to the above-mentioned Tangaey, and going four kuroh in the direction of east, in a dara'h among the mountains,** along the banks of the united Kurma'h and Gamíla'h, you reach Ṭíṭa'í, or Ṭíṭa'í Mena'h, which, in former times, was a considerable town belonging to the 'Ísá Khel section of the Níází tribe, but, at present, it is depopulated and desolate. Three kuroh farther east from this the river of Kurma'h joins the Abáe-Sín.††

"This route from Ṭíṭa'í branches off both to the right hand and to the left, up and down stream: one way leading upwards to Kálá-Bágh, and from thence to Makhaḍ; the

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* "Gujookhel" of the maps.

† There are several routes and passes leading from the Afrídí territory into Khwaṛama'h of the Khaṭaks, some of which have been mentioned in the extracts from Afẓal Khán's history.

‡ Not "Nakhband."

§ The "Kohat Toe" of the maps. *See* page 380, and note *.

‖ There is likewise a practicable route from Nara'í Aoba'h by Balah-min, mentioned at page 84, into the Khwaṛama'h and to the Resa'í Ferry by Chakhtú, Láchí, Da Ghoríahzío Ṭol, and Til-khan. *See* page 445.

¶ At the present time, about half of them have abandoned their nomadic life, and taken to agriculture. Others would probably do the same were there greater facilities for irrigation.

** This dara'h is now generally known as the Tang Dara'h or Dara'h-i-Tang, which signifies, "the narrow gorge or defile," but "*Tang-i-dara*," as in MacGregor's "Central Asia," is meaningless, being nothing less than the cart before the horse, namely, *narrow of gorge*. The name is simple Persian. *See* note †, page 370, and page 373.

†† Vast changes have taken place since the time of these surveys; indeed, since the Indian Atlas map was published. The river of Kurma'h (the main stream), before uniting with the Indus, now turns from east to south; but much of its water is dispersed through other minor channels running to the north, and finds its way into the Indus in that direction. These changes are continually going on; and all trace of Ṭíṭa'í has, I believe, disappeared.

other downwards to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, which routes have been already given."

Eighty-fifth Route. From Laka'í to Khassúr.

"Setting out from the town of Laka'í, and proceeding eight kuroh to the south, you reach the Níl Ghar, the name of a defile and pass, the rocks in which are of a blackish colour [literally, blue], and which has about one kuroh of ascent and descent. From thence you go on for another five kuroh in the direction of south-east, and reach the Rátá Roh or Rátá Paháṛ, that is to say, the Koh-i-Surkh, which, as its name indicates, together with the parallel range immediately east of it towards Khassúr, is—from the Tangaey, referred to in the preceding route, where the river of Kurma'h separates it from the Lowá-Ghar range to the north—a portion of the outer or easternmost ranges of the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Paháṛ, farther south-west. From the aforesaid Tangaey, it runs in the direction between south and west as far as the Painzú Ghás'haey or Pass, when it turns to the north-west, and runs in that direction towards the point where the Gamíla'h river issues from the mountains, when it unites with the main portion of the range running south, which has been previously described.*

"The road lies through a defile and pass difficult to traverse; and from thence, proceeding seven kuroh more in the direction of south-east, you reach Khassúr,† a village of considerable size, so named after a tribe of Afghâns already noticed. On the way thither from Laka'í you pass through a very mountainous tract, containing many ascents and descents, in which there is scarcity of water; and the inhabitants are few, who roam about after the manner of nomads. This route also leads to the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán."

Eighty-sixth Route. From the town of Makhaḍ, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, to the fort of Aṭak-Banáras by way of the banks of the Abáe-Sín, or Sind river.

"Between the town of Makhaḍ‡ and the fort of Aṭak, on either side of the Abáe-Sín, there are ranges of mountains of lesser or greater altitude difficult to cross; and merchants and traders consequently prefer going by water. The villages which will now be mentioned are chiefly built on the skirts of the mountains, on the right and left hand, on either bank of the Abáe-Sín, but some are closer to the banks than others, and some are situated a kuroh or more inland.

"Setting out from Makhaḍ (which will presently be described), you proceed twelve kuroh, the river winding considerably, in the direction of north-west, several small villages lying distant on the left hand on the west bank, and reach S'hahr-kí,§ the name applied to two villages on that side, belonging to the Khaṭaks, about a kuroh north of which the Ṭíraey To-e or Ṭíraey stream enters the Sind.

"From S'hahr-kí you go eight kuroh north to [opposite to] But kí Gaṛhí,‖ which is also situated on the left-hand side; and, about one kuroh before reaching that point, you arrive opposite the place where the Kághzí river unites with the Sind. You then have to go on for another three kuroh to Kaṣṣáb,¶ also lying on the left-hand side, and on the way, about a kuroh and a half before reaching it, you pass by Resa'í,** where there is a well-known ferry, much used in former times, on the route into the

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* This range appears, or rather these two ranges, which are parts of each other, appear in our maps, the western one as the *Murwut* Range;" and in MacGregor's "Central Asia" as the "*Móhar* Range." The eastern portion is laid down in the maps as the "*Khusore* Range," but in MacGregor's book it is the "*Khasor* Range." Both are but portions of the Koh-i-Surkh, and form its northern portion or extremity. Rátá Roh or Rátá Paháṛ is the Hindú name of the range, *rattá* or *rátá*, in Sanskrit, being of the same signification as *surkh* in Persian—red. *See* also pages 5, 17, 324, 333, and 341.

† This place appears in the Indian Atlas map as "Keeree Khusore," and immediately south-west of it appears "Kissore ka Kirree." I wonder what is the difference here. *See* note *, page 325, and page 341.

‡ Written correctly, except with "*d*" for "*ḍ*," in the Indian Atlas map, but it is "Makhud" in the Revenue Survey map.

§ Not "Sharki," as in the maps. Wood examined the river as far as this point, in his attempt to get up the Indus in August, 1837. He says: "Quitting my boat here [Tora'h Mela'h or Tora'h Mena'h, five miles "north of Makhaḍ], I landed and examined its channel as high as Sharkí, a village on its western shore. To "this place I concluded the boat might possibly be dragged; but all hope of being able to advance higher was "completely cut off by perpendicular banks several hundred feet high, which, a little above Sharkí, buttressed "the river." At that time the river was in flood: hence, probably, his want of success.

‖ This place does not appear in our maps.

¶ But neither "Kasab," nor "Kusubba," as in the maps.

** The Resa'í ferry, mentioned above by the author of these surveys, has been frequently referred to by Afẓal Khán in the extracts I have given. It was considered of vast importance in former times; and the reason why it became disused was because Khush-ḥál Khán, son of Sa'd-ullah Khán, son of the same Afẓal Khán, founded a village at the ferry now known as the Khush-ḥál Gaṛh Ferry, a few miles above Resa'í, and

Bangas'h-át and to Pes'háwar by way of Kohát.* Just opposite Resa'í is the bed of a considerable river, which comes from the east, and unites with the Abáe-Sín, but its bed is dry for great part of the year.

"Proceeding upwards from Kaṣṣáb two kuroh and a half farther in the direction of north, inclining north-east, you arrive at Khush-ḥál Gaṛh, an old village, also on the left-hand side or west bank, situated on a hill slope, overlooking the river. Here there is an established ferry; and travellers between Láhor and Kohát cross by means of boats, and proceed on their way.

"From Khush-ḥál Gaṛh between three and four kuroh farther, in much the same direction as before, is the village of Turtálí,† situated on the right-hand or east side. Five kuroh farther north from thence is Dand,‡ a large village on the same side, overlooking the river. Immediately south of Dand, a river which comes from the eastward, from the direction of Thaṭṭhá, mentioned farther on, unites with the Abáe-Sín. Two kuroh north from thence again are two other villages, that on the west side is called S'hádí-púr, previously noticed, and that on the east side, Náṛá.§ At S'hádí-púr, likewise, there is a ferry, which is crossed by means of boats; for this is one of the routes between Láhor and Pes'háwar.

"About half a kuroh before you reach S'hádí-púr, on the opposite side of the river, another stream, coming from the eastward, from the direction of Náṛá, unites with the main river.

"Leaving the S'hádí-púr ferry, and proceeding three kuroh in the direction of north-east, you reach Sahín||, on the west bank; and from it three kuroh farther, in the same direction as before, is Páṭá,¶ on the east bank, south of which a small river, rising in the mountains farther east, unites with the Abáe-Sín, but at this point its bed is generally dry, except after falls of rain.

"Another three kuroh upwards from Páṭá, in much the same direction as before, bring you to Sijhanḍah, also called Sijhanḍ,** an old place, likewise on the right or east bank, but distant half a kuroh from it. Proceeding seven kuroh [by the river] from thence in the direction of east, inclining a little to the north-east, you reach Níl-áb, a very ancient town, lying on the east bank or right hand, about half a kuroh east of which the Abáe-Sín makes a sharp bend to the north, then bends south-east for about a kuroh, after which it turns abruptly north again. South of Níl-áb there is a spring from which a little water flows, of great purity, and of a blue colour:†† hence the name of the spring and of the town, Níl-áb, or Blue-Water. It flows onwards and reaches the Abáe-Sín. On the other or west side of the river, on the skirt of the hills, is the village of Toha'h; and rather more than half a kuroh farther on is a small fort, built

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called it after his own name. The value and importance of the Resa'í ferry, however, which appears in our maps and gazetteers, [redacted] under the incorrect names of "*Raysee*," "*Ress*," and "*Reshi*," has recently been discovered by the local authorities; and, as there are some rapids in the river between it and Khush-ḥál-Gaṛh, which render the ascent of the river difficult, Resa'í has been "recommended as a depôt for steamers on the "Indus instead of Khush-ḥál-Gaṛh," thus, in a measure, restoring it to its former position, which was, no doubt, selected in olden times as being the best crossing point, in that direction, on the Indus.

This ferry, and the routes leading to it, have been several times mentioned in these pages, and have been used for ages past; and the wonder is that the importance, and former use of this ferry, was not better known, and sooner appreciated. In the year 1059 H. (1649 A.D.), when Ḳandahár was invested by the Ḳizil-báshís, and troops were ordered off in hot haste under Prince Muḥammad Aurang-zeb, Bahádur, to its relief, they were directed "to proceed to Kábul by the nearest route through Bangas'h, and by the Resa'í ferry." Hearing that Ḳandahár had fallen, Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh issued instructions to Aurang-zeb and Sa'd-ullah Khán to hasten their movements, and get to Ḳandahár as soon as possible. On the 15th of Ṣafar, the second month of 1061 H. (1651 A.D.), Sa'd-ullah Khán with his troops passed the Níl-áb at the Resa'í ferry, where there was a bridge of boats, and moved to Kohát, where he halted awaiting the arrival of Aurang-zeb.

When the latter succeeded to the throne, this ferry was considered of such great importance as to have a Thánah-dár over it; and, in 1085 H. (1674 A.D.) "Muḥammad Wafá was nominated Thánah-dár of the Guẕar "of Resa'í and of Kohát."

We have seen, from the extracts previously given, how anxious the Prince, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, always was about the safety of the Resa'í ferry, and how often he directed Afẓal Khán, Khaṭak, to take care of it, and the safety of the routes leading to it. *See* page 390.

* By the route given at page 445 from Til-khan and Ṭolgaey Kalaey.

† Not "Tootal," as in the maps.

‡ "Dandi" of the maps.

§ The village so called is three and a half miles farther east, inland, from the banks of the Indus, and could hardly have been seen from the river; still, it is no doubt the place referred to; for it appears to be an old place, and there is no other of the name hereabouts.

|| Incorrectly spelt "Sayun" in the maps.

¶ "Bahtar" in the maps.

** Not "Shoojandhar" as in the maps, for there is neither "*sh*" nor "*r*" in the word.

†† The water is so pellucid that it looks quite blue, and, in the idiom of the language, is termed *níl*—blue, hence Níl-áb, or Blue-Water, or Blue-River, and hence the name of the Egyptian Níl, of which Europeans make Nile.

of unburnt brick, called Kahoá or Kahoa'h,* and here, likewise, is an established ferry which you cross by means of boats. There are several islands or sand banks in the bed of the river here, which, in crossing, you leave on the right hand."

Toha'h and Kaho, as Afẓal Khán writes the words, situated about a mile from each other, formerly belonged to the Kaṭhars of Níl-áb. In the time of Khush-ḥál Khán they were sacked, and many of the principal Kaṭhars were slain, as has been already narrated, their property carried off, and many captives taken. This affair caused the Kaṭhar tribe to regard the Khaṭaks with bitter hostility; and this was shown, in after years, when Náṣir Khán was Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, in 1130 H. (1717 A.D.),† and the territories under his charge were in a very disturbed state, as well as the empire generally. At this period, Ghairat, the Kaṭhar chief,‡ whose sister's daughter had been betrothed to 'Abd-ullah-Khán, the Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, arrived at Aṭak to take up his appointment of Fowj-dár, Aṭak being subordinate to Láhor.

Shortly after, "the upstart, Ghairat," the Fowj-dár, having intrigued with the disaffected among the Khaṭak tribe—for, from the time of Khush-ḥál downwards, the quarrels and seditions between his sons, his brothers, and his grandsons, were never ceasing—attacked Khair-ábád of the Khaṭaks (what has been called by one compiler, "the fortress erected by Nadir Shah," and by another, "the old Sikh fort," Khair-ábád having been a well known place ages before); and, for the space of a whole month, firing was kept up on either side, but chiefly from the Aṭak bank, and a vast quantity of powder was uselessly expended.

In the meantime, the party of Khaṭaks left to guard the Toha'h and Mándorí ferries by Afẓal Khán, their chief, had been tampered with by other Khaṭaks who were disaffected towards him, and all the available boats had been removed for security to the Aṭak side. These rebels, consequently, instead of guarding and defending those ferries, sent secretly to Ghairat, the Kaṭhar, and offered to evacuate those strong positions as soon as his forces should begin to cross the river.

This they shortly after did, by means of two or three boats quietly prepared; and, subsequently, quite unobserved by others than the rebels, to the number of from 1,000 to 2,000 horse, and from 10,000 to 20,000 foot, according to Afẓal Khán's history, but a greatly exaggerated number no doubt, and, having marched up the river, by the west bank, they obtained possession of Khair-ábád.

Soon after, whilst Afẓal Khán was making his preparations to attack and recover possession of that fort, after previously defeating the Khaṭak rebels, and some of the Kaṭhar Fowj-dár's forces, in which affair, out of a body of some 800 or 900 Kaṭhars, Mughals, and Ráj-púts, only a few managed to escape on horseback across the river by the Gádí ferry, came the news of the death of the Ṣúbah-dár, on the 8th of Muḥarram, the first month of 1131 H. (November, 1718 A.D.), who had just reached Pes'háwar from Kábul, and the whole country was up.

To continue the account of the route to Aṭak Banáras.

"From the Níl-áb you go one kuroh and a half east, and then north for another kuroh, to the village of Rúṭa'h,§ lying a short distance from the river bank on the right hand, south of which the Harú river unites with the Abáe-Sín. Going upwards from thence for rather more than a kuroh in the direction of north, you reach the village of Ḍher, situated on the east bank; and half a kuroh farther north-west, on the opposite side, is a village named Mandoṛián,‖ while the same distance farther on, on the right hand or east bank, is Jábhá, on the left-hand side of the road leading to Aṭak, and another village on the opposite bank, known as Tir-Pání. Continuing onwards for rather less than two kuroh, but inclining slightly to the north-east, you reach the village of Dakhnír, which is also styled Dakhnír [with guttural *kh*], but

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* Not "Kawa," as in the maps, neither is Toha'h called "Thowa." In ancient times, before Aṭak-Banáras was founded, the Yúsufzí and Gagyání Afghán traders, who used to pass to and fro between their own country and Hindústán, used to go by way of Kahoa'h and Níl-áb, the Jánah-gaṛ and Súniála'h passes, and used to cross the Landaey Sín or river of Kábul at the ferry of Sargh-waṛa'í, and return home through the Kálah Pání district. *See* page 246.

† The year commenced on the 23rd November, 1717 A.D.

‡ *See* Griffin's "Panjab Chiefs," under "Fatah (Fatḥ) Khan Drek," page 564. The Kaṭhars account this Ghairat Khán the best of their chiefs, on account of his "Court interest," perhaps. 'Abd-ullah Khán was the youngest of the two brothers, Sayyids of Báṛhah, who usurped the whole power in the State in Farrukh-Siyar Bádsháh's reign.

§ Incorrectly called "Borotha" in the maps.

‖ "Mandoria," as in the maps, is not correct.

which is more than a kuroh distant from the banks of the Abáe-Sín. From thence another two kuroh and a half, in the direction of north, but inclining to the north-east, passing by a very mountainous track on either side of the river, bring you to the fort of Aṭak-Banáras, on the east bank of the great river, which has been previously described in the route from Láhor to Kábul (page 32).*

"On the way upwards from Makhad, besides the rivers already mentioned, there are several other smaller ones on either hand, which unite with the Abáe-Sín, but their beds are for the most part dry through a great part of the year.

"All the villages here named, and the mountain tracts likewise, which lie on the left hand, belong to the Khaṭak Afgháns; and the mountain tracts on the right belong to the numerous tribe of the Kaṭhars, also called Kahṭars, whose chief towns and seats of authority, in ancient times, were Níl-áb and Bhaṭúṭ or Bhaṭíúṭ. The latter place is now desolate, but Níl-áb itself still belongs to the Kaṭhars."

Some very interesting information respecting the Indus is given by Khush-ḥál Khán, Khaṭak, and his grandson, Afẓal Khán, from whose writings I will give a few more extracts.

Referring to the many hair-breadth escapes of his grandfather, the latter says, that, "upon one occasion he nearly lost his life through the lowness of the waters of "the Abáe-Sín. It was in this wise. In the year 1072 H. (1661–62 A.D.), at the "time that convulsions arose in Hind consequent on the imprisonment of the Bádsháh, "Sháh-i-Jahán, by his unnatural son, Aurang-zeb, who had been usurping the throne "about three years, hostilities arose between the Mandaṛ Afgháns and some of "the Yúsufzís on the one side, and the Fowj-dár of Aṭak on the other. At that "time, Khush-ḥál was a loyal vassal of the Mughal Bádsháhs, and he was, consequently, together with his tribe, considered hostile by the other Afgháns "referred to.

"Their intention was to cross the river of Kábul by means of rafts, and plunder the country around Khair-ábád, Nawaey Saráe, and Noh-s'hahra'h, but they failed in their object. Khush-ḥál Khán set out from Saráe for the purpose of going to consult the Mughal commander at Aṭak; and he embarked on board a boat. The Khán says, in his Diary, 'It was when the sun was in Scorpio, and it was near the time of evening 'prayer that I reached the junction of the two rivers [the river of Kábul or Landaey 'Sind, and the Indus or Abáe-Sind]; and the water of the Sind was so low that the 'rocks and boulders showed themselves above the water, which, also, was exceedingly 'smooth. All of a sudden, however, when the boat came opposite Khair-ábád, she 'struck upon some rocks, and went to pieces, having gone sideways on the other 'great rocks in the river.'

"The Khán, with two or three others, seized on one of the planks, and succeeded in getting upon it; and it was prettily tossed about among the rocks and stones. Those among the party in the boat, who, when she went to pieces, were cast on the Aṭak side, all got safely to land, but those who were carried by the current to the Khair-ábád side were all drowned.

"There was the Khán afloat, and knocking about with others, on a plank in the waters of the Sind on a dark night; and great was the uproar and excitement at Khair-ábád and at Aṭak; for it was reported that the Khán was drowned. After one watch or more had passed since the accident happened, a raft pushed off, and succeeded in reaching him and his companions in calamity, took them off the plank, and landed them safely at Aṭak. The Khán, however, who was then fifty years old, while on the plank, nearly perished of cold; and a Hindú, who was one of the party on the plank, did die from the effects of the cold after he had been rescued from the water. The plank, which had been tossed about all this time among the eddies, but had not been carried down stream, for if it had been, all those upon it would have perished to a certainty, was borne down almost immediately after they had been placed on the raft."

Afẓal Khán then relates some of his own adventures on the Indus. The Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, when Ṣúbah-dár of Multán, had been directed by his father, Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír, to assume the government of Kábul and territories west of

* In 1079 H. (1668 A.D.), the twelfth year of Aurang-zeb's reign, Aṭak suffered greatly from the shock of an earthquake. On the 4th of Ṣafar—the second month—of that year (3rd of June, 1668), a great chasm opened in the ground to the extent of fifty *gaz* in breadth, but its depth no one could ascertain. This shock was likewise felt in Kash-mír on the same date.

the Indus, belonging to the Mughal Bádsháhs of Hind, on the death of the Şúbah-dár, Amír Khán, at Nímla'h, and the outbreak of disturbances in the province. Áfẓal Khán had sent him the news by Ḳásids (couriers), who proceeded by water as far south as the Balúch boundary [to the Thal or Chúl-i-Jalálí, on the Indus, as far down as Mián-walí, probably], and then by land to Multán, which they reached within six days from the time they set out. Afẓal Khán proceeded to Ḥasan-i-Abdál to meet the Prince on his way to assume the government, and was despatched back to Khair-ábád to prepare for the construction of a bridge of boats across the Indus. Afẓal Khán says, "When I "reached Aṭak, the Fowj-dár there, Fazl-ullah Khán, treated me in rather a cavalier "manner. I was not acquainted with him; and he seemed to be jealous of the favour "I was in with the Prince. All the boats available, with the exception of three, were "required for the construction of the bridge, and I required a boat for myself. He "got me an old boat, and informed me it was ready. I told him that my agreement of "service was not such that I should cross the Abáe-Sín in an old crazy boat; and, "at last, he had a new one produced, and in that I embarked.

"It was the autumn season of 1112 H. (1700 A.D.); and, as is usual with the Abáe-"Sín at that time of the year, its waters have great force, and the danger from their "violence is great. The boats required to form the bridge were anchored on either "bank, above the point at which I was about to embark, and the force of the current "was greatest below this. I had some of my own boatmen with me, and also some "from Aṭak. In the other boat which had been chosen for me, and which I refused "to enter, were embarked some of my cooking utensils, some horses, and some slaves, "and a few other people. When they pushed this old boat out into the stream, she "was carried down by the current upon Jalália'h, a rock in the river, a short distance "below the fort of Aṭak, and went to pieces; and most of those who were on board "her perished.

"When the boat in which I was got into mid-stream, notwithstanding all the "efforts of the boatmen, she was carried down by the force of the current upon "Jalália'h also, and struck three times thereon, each time being driven back, and "again drawn upon it.* After striking a fourth time, the boat got drawn into an "eddy or whirlpool. It was only after a thousand difficulties that she could be got to "move on again; and we succeeded in reaching Khair-ábád, where we found that the "boat had sustained much damage. . . . .

"In short, the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, arrived, and encamped on the "banks of the river; and Hádí Khán was appointed to construct the bridge of boats. "He entrusted to me the procuring of the necessary materials and sending them in; "and, in a very short time, the bridge was ready; and we both received praise for our "work. I received also an increase of rank.

"The Prince gave orders for his troops and followers to cross, and performed two "genuflexions in prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God on the Aṭak head of the "bridge, and likewise on the Khair-ábád head. I proceeded to the head of the bridge "on the Afghán side to receive him, and presented him with a falcon and two hawks, "at which he was well pleased. After halting two days at Khair-ábád, he marched to "Saráe and encamped, and then moved to Noh-s'hahra'h, where I was presented with "a horse, and received permission to return home. All the Afgháns of the different "tribes around yielded obedience to him, and many of them came in and presented "themselves."

This was, however, but the commencement of his acquaintance with them. Their subsequent conduct has been related in other places.

It was on this occasion, while the Prince was at Khair-ábád, that the Amat-ul-Ḥabíbah, a Káfirí slave-girl in his *ḥaram*, presented the Prince with a son.†

Eighty-seventh Route. *From Khush-ḥál Gaṛh to Kohát, the chief town of the territory of Lower Bangas'h.*

"From Khush-ḥál-Gaṛh you proceed for a distance of six kuroh in the direction of west, and reach Til-khan,‡ and by the way have to traverse two or three great defiles containing many ascents and descents. From thence you go another kuroh west to Ṭolgaey Kalaey,§ and the road is like a narrow river bed. You then proceed

* *See* page 33, Section First.

† Three Káfirí slave-girls were sent to Aurang-zeb Bádsháh by Allah-Dád, Kheshkí, Fowj-dár of Langar-Koṭ. Two of them died, and the third Aurang-zeb presented to his son in order to spite the latter's wife, the mother of Rafí-'ush-Shán.

‡ "Tilkuna" of the maps.

§ In one place written Ṭolkí Galí. The above is doubtless the most correct.

another kuroh, but inclining more to the north-west, to Ghuriza'í,* and after that, another two kuroh, in the same direction as before, to Síní or Sírní,† where there is a *gumbaz* or *gumbad*—a cupola or dome—over the tomb of some holy man: hence the village is sometimes styled *the* Gumbaza'h or Gumbata'h by Afgháns. You next go on to the village of Khund-yánaey,‡ also called Khud-yálaey, a little north of which the Jz'wákí clan of the Afrídí tribe of Kaṛlární Afgháns dwell.

"At Khund-yánaey, or Khud-yálaey, the Khaṭak country terminates in this direction, and that of the Kaṛlárnís of Bangas'h begins. Then you proceed another two kuroh, inclining a little to the north-west, to Da Beyalo Tang,§ a village of the Bá'ízí Kaṛlárnís of Lower Bangas'h, perched on two rocks. This village, and the country round, in former times, belonged to the Awáns, who, as elsewhere stated, held a considerable tract of territory this side of the Abáe-Sín. Another stage of two kuroh in the direction of north-west brings you to Togh, another village belonging to the Kaṛlárnís of Lower Bangas'h, situated at the foot of a great rocky cliff. At this point a small river gushes out, which, having flowed towards the west, unites with the river of Kohát, or the Kághzí river. After going another two kuroh and a half in the direction of north-west you reach Kohát, the chief town of the Kaṛlární tribes of Afgháns of Bangas'h-i-Pá'ín or Lower Bangas'h, elsewhere described; and on the way to it from Khush-hál Gaṛh the route contains numerous ascents and descents, and the tribes of Khaṭak and Bangas'h Kaṛlárnís dwell therein after the manner of nomads."

Eighty-eighth Route. From Láhor to Níl-áb and Pes'háwar, by way of Pinḍí-i-Malika'h-e-Shahr-yár, also called Pinḍí-i-Gahep, or Pinḍí-i-Malika'h-e-Auliyá, et cetera.

"The route from Láhor to the Pinḍí, or Village, of the Malika'h-e-Shahr-yár, also known as the Pinḍí of the Malika'h-e-Auliyá, the Pinḍí of the Malika'h,‖ and the Pinḍí of the Gahep tribe of Jaṭs, has been elsewhere mentioned. Setting out from thence, and proceeding two kuroh north, inclining north-west, you reach the ancient town of Ikhláṣ, belonging to the Gahep Jaṭ tribe, but now almost desolate.¶ East of it is a small river called the Síhaṛ, which comes from the right hand, flows towards the left, and unites with the Sú-án or Sú-hán. In the hot season the Síhaṛ becomes dried up in several places.** From Ikhláṣ you proceed four kuroh north, inclining slightly towards the north-west, to Mián-Wálah,†† and then three kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to the large village of Kussrán,‡‡, at which point the *pargana'h* of Gahep terminates in this direction, and the territory inhabited by the Kaṭhar tribe commences. From the last-named village the road leads two kuroh and a half in the

* This is "Da Ghoríahzío Ṭol" of Afẓal Khán, previously mentioned at page 401. When not inflected the word would be Ghoríahzí. This name, in Pus'hto, means an assembly or body of Ghoríahzí, *ṭol* signifying "a crowd," "throng," "assemblage," "a number of people assembled together." Ṭol-gaey in the preceding name is the diminutive of *ṭol*, and means the village of "the small assemblage."

† Not "Seynee."

‡ Afẓal Khán drops the "*h*" in this word, and writes it Kunḍ-yálaey. *See* page 409. In the maps it appears as "Gundyalee," but it is "Gundíalí" in MacGregor's book.

§ *See* note ‡‡, page 418.

‖ The name of this place has, hitherto, always been written incorrectly, as "Pindi Malik Oolia," "Pind Mulik Oulea," and the like. Malik is a masculine noun, and Malika'h is the feminine form of it. The word, which is 'Arabic (both words are common to the Semitic languages), is used almost peculiarly with respect to the Afgháns (although some people of Hindú descent have recently assumed it), and signifies "king" and "master." It is applied by the Afgháns to the chief man of a clan or section of a tribe, and to the head man of a village. Malika'h-e-Auliyá, therefore, signifies the Queen or Princess of, or among, Saints or Holy Persons, which Auliyá means. But Pinḍí-i-Malika'h-e-Shahr-yár signifies, the Village of the Queen or Royal Princess, for Shahr-yár is an exclusively royal title, and would seem to refer to the member of some royal house, while Malika'h-e-Auliyá refers to some holy female, probably of a Sayyid family. That a male is referred to is impossible, from the way the words are written. Lepel Griffin, in his "Panjab Chiefs," refers to a "*Malik* Oulia *Khan*" of "Pindi Gheb," who figured as a petty chief in these parts "early in the eighteenth century," but it is evident that the word *Oulia* has some reference to this Malika'h-e-Auliyá, for it is a very strange name applied to a man in such a manner as he mentions it, with Khán appended to it.

¶ It has begun to raise its head again, and has lately improved.

** Great changes have taken place here too since these surveys were made. Ikhláṣ is now separated from Pinḍí-i-Malika'h by the broad bed of this river, which, in our maps, is styled the "Seel," below Ikhláṣ, and the "Tota" above it.

In Major Wilson's new map terrible havoc has been made among the names of places, and the Sú-án or Sú-hán has been turned into "*Soban.*"

†† "*Miawal*" of the Indian Atlas map, and "*Mawal*" of the Revenue Survey map. A road from this place leads to Aṭak by Kálar Koṭ, Bhaṭíúṭ, Kahṭúr or Kahṭor, Bú, Jassí Kussar on the Harú, Sar-wálah, and Dakhnír, or Dakhnír with guttural *kh*.

‡‡ "*Kesra*" of the Indian Atlas map, but "*Kainsra*" of the Revenue Survey map.

direction of north-west, inclining north, to Maṭhíal,* a village inhabited by a section of the Kaṭhars, and included in the *pargana'h* of Bhaṭíút;† and from thence three kuroh in the same direction to Ṭhaṭṭhá.‡ The town of Bhaṭíút, giving name to the *pargana'h*, lies seven kuroh distant on the right hand, or east. You then have to go on a distance of ten kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to Chhaudh,§ a large village situated on the west bank of a stream rising in the hills immediately south of it, a tributary of the Harú river. It runs for about two kuroh to the north-west, inclining north, and unites with the Harú a short distance before its junction with the Abáe-Sín, about a kuroh east of Níl-áb. A still smaller stream runs west of it, and unites with the other immediately north of the village. On the way from Ṭhaṭṭhá to this place the country, which is exceedingly rough and broken, containing numerous ascents and descents, and with high mountains on either hand, is uninhabited; and here the boundary of the Kaṭhar tribe terminates.

"From this village you go on to Níl-áb, distant three kuroh in the same direction as before, the road being very difficult. Níl-áb was once a great city, and the seat of government of the Kaṭhar tribe: consequently, they used to style it the Takht-i-Níl-áb—the Níl-áb Throne or Capital. At present it is in the hands of the Khaṭak Afgháns, between 2,000 and 3,000 families of whom dwell around. It still has a few dwelling places inhabited; and its ruins are still prominent.‖ East of this ruined place there is a spring of water, exceedingly insignificant, but of such great purity, that it appears of an azure colour; and this, it is said, gave name to the place—the city of the Níl-áb or Blue Spring, or Blue Water. The Abáe-Sín flows below the place on the west; and a short distance, about a kuroh or more, to the east of it, this mighty river, which, from Aṭak downwards, flows nearly north and south, and with great velocity, makes a sudden bend to the east: consequently, there are several small islands or banks in its bed opposite Níl-áb. Above this bend the Harú river enters the Abáe-Sín, and probably is partly the cause of its taking this sudden bend.¶ On the opposite bank of the great river, on the cliff or steep bank, is a stone-built fort,

* This is turned into "*Mital*" in the maps.

† "Batiot" of the maps.

‡ "Thathe" of the maps.

§ This place appears to be indicated in our maps under the name of "Choe" and "Choi." It is, as above, in three different copies of the work.

‖ The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, in the account of his travels, says, that at the Níl-áb ferry there is a small village, which is called Níl-áb; and that there was another village of the same name on the west side of the Indus. In his time, 1196 H. (1782 A.D.), he says, "the village on the east bank belonged to a Sayyid, who "took the fees and transit dues." At this period, likewise, the chief of the Khaṭaks, west of the river, was Sháh-Báz Khán, and all the ferries were under his control.

See page 444, where the author says that Níl-áb itself still belongs to the Kaṭhars. He means here that the Khaṭaks were then the dominant tribe.

¶ The Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥakím, brother of Akbar Bádsháh, invaded the Panj-áb for the second time, and reached Láhor in 988 H. (1580 A.D.), but retired again on the approach of his brother, crossed the Chín-áb at Jalál-ábád (now Jalál-púr), and the Jihlam near Bharah, then took the Gahep route by the Ḳahár *Kotal*, and recrossed the Indus at the Níl-áb ferry into his own territory, which extended eastwards as far as the west bank of the Abáe-Sín or Indus.

Akbar Bádsháh, soon after, reached the banks of the Níl-áb, as the Abáe-Sín is here also called, as well as the Sind-Ságar, crossed it near the point where the river of Kábul and the Níl-áb unite, not far from where Aṭak-Banáras now stands, and gave orders for founding the fort of that name. Previous to this period, the bed of the Níl-áb or Indus at a short distance above Aṭak-Banáras, as far up as Jammú and Naḳḳárchí, mentioned at page 290, as the country thereabout shows, was very wide and shallow, and full of swamps and marshes, extending eastwards for miles to near Shams-ábád and Hazrao, and the river itself flowed in a broad and shallow stream. This swampy tract has, in course of time, been reclaimed.

While Akbar Bádsháh was advancing by the Khaibar route to Kábul, Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím thought of advancing from Kábul by the nearer Bangas'h route, that described at page 68 of these "Notes," and fomenting troubles in the Panj-áb; for, even at that period of time, the twenty-fifth year of Akbar Bádsháh's reign, it was well known that the Khaibar route was so difficult that no one used it (notwithstanding that we were told, during the late Afghán campaign, by some of the "masters of the subject," of "*the Emperor Sultan Mahmood*" coming "*riding down the Khyber*"), but Akbar Bádsháh, subsequently, had it "so improved, that wheeled "carriages could be driven all the way to Kábul. After that time Túránís and Hindústánís generally used "it." Amír Tímúr took the usual easy route, the easiest perhaps, on one side of the Kahibar route, while Bábar Bádsháh took another route, also easier than the Khaibar, along the northern bank of the river of Kábul, as described in the preceding routes in these "Notes." See also page 32.

Wood, in his "Journey to the Oxus," gives a graphic account of his dangerous passage down the Indus from Aṭak to Kálá-Bágh.

He also says that "two miles below the Hurrú [the Harú river] is Niláb, where the ruthless Tamerlane, "when he marched on India, crossed the Indus." Here he is mistaken. I beg to state that the "ruthless Tamerlane" (which European writers have made out of Tímúr-i-Lang, who was *a lamb* compared with the Chingiz Khán and his sons) crossed the Indus much lower down, as I have elsewhere shown.

This gallant officer of the Indian Navy was not the first, however, who made the same dangerous voyage. Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak chief, so often quoted in these "Notes," made it on two different occasions. The first time was in 1113 H. (1701 A.D.), at the time that the Sháh-Zádah, Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur, was Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul and the territories subject to Dihlí, west of the Indus. The Sháh-Zádah, being at Pes'háwar at the time,

named Kahoá or Kahoa'h [the Kaho of Afẓal Khán, Khaṭák], and here there is a ferry, known as the Níl-áb ferry, which is crossed by means of boats.

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set out from Baḍáber for Kohát by the Sanḍah Bastah route (*see* page 422), and Afẓal Khán had agreed to meet the Prince there by way of S'hádí-púr, some fifteen miles or more below the whirlpool referred to by Wood. Being about to take up his residence there, Afẓal set out from Noh-s'hahra'h, on the river of Kábul, where he then was, his object being to save time, having his family also to take with him, to leave them at S'hádí-púr, and join Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur. He says: "It being the hot season, I set out by water. The Abáe-Sín was "in flood; and when I was passing abreast of Shiga'h [a place now in ruins, situated on the south bank of a "small stream which unites with the Indus just at the identical spot where Wood's whirlpool was], where the "river flowed among the mountains, the whirlpools were tumultuous, and the eddies dangerous, so much so that "I was very sorry I had come that way; for I had my family along with me. I, however, reached S'hádí-púr "in safety." He gives no other particulars.

He does not appear to have been deterred from undertaking the same voyage on another occasion, but at a season when the Indus was lower; and, from the way he relates it, the river does not seem to have been dangerous at that time of the year.

In 1128 H. (1716 A.D.), on the occasion of the outbreak of hostilities in Bangas'h, he set out from Saráe, on the river of Kábul, in order to return quickly to Niẓám-púr, his usual place of abode at that period, situated about three miles from the very whirlpool opposite Shiga'h before referred to. He says: "It was in the spring "of the year, and everything was in bloom. I had come up to Saráe in order to celebrate the betrothal of my "son, 'Alí Muḥammad, with the daughter of a kinsman. Hearing of the outbreak of hostilities, I speedily "finished the betrothal ceremonies; and, embarking on the Saráe boats [with his party], dropped down to "Niẓám-púr."

Wood confirms the statement above that the Harú causes a great change in the nature of the stream. He says, "Before reaching the end of the plain (below a rock which he calls Berri) a range of black-looking "mountains ahead was seen, apparently crossing the river's bed, and even when we were close upon them, "no gorge or exit could be detected. The confluence of the Harrú river, which here joins from the eastward, "had just been passed, when our boat was forcibly carried by a violent current under the high impending "cliffs of the left bank, and, on sweeping round a corner [the bend alluded to in the text above], we dis-"covered, when we had time to look about us, that we were surrounded by mountains."

It is at the point where the river, after flowing nearly due west for about nine miles from its junction with the Harú, again bends sharply from west to south-east, and where there is a whirlpool, that the chief danger occurs. Wood says it is "the whirlpool of Ghora-Tarap"—he refers to a place on the banks known as the Ghoṛá Trap, or the Horse's Leap—and it has been supposed, in consequence, that it was here that the gallant Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, after being defeated and surrounded on the banks of the Abáe-Sín by the Mughal hordes of the "ruthless" Chingiz Khán, plunged into the river on horseback, fully armed, and succeeded in reaching the opposite bank, in sight of the Chingiz Khán and his sons, and the whole Mughal host, the details of which will be found in my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 290, note 4. No doubt considerable changes have taken place, in the river's course even among these blue slate hills, in the course of six hundred and eighty-two years, if the Sulṭán did cross here, but, according to history, the scene of this exploit would be much lower down, as stated in a previous note. If the point known as the "Ghoṛá Trap" was the scene, it must have occurred just below where the whirlpool is, where Wood's boat "darted into the fair channel." See the interesting account of this affair in his narrative, pages 76 to 79. Jalál-ud-Dín crossed in the month of September, but some say still later, in December; Wood passed down in August, when the river was almost at its full height.

Let us look a little further into this matter of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín's crossing. He came, without doubt, from Ghaznín, by the Kurma'h route; and the only roads available for him by which to reach the Indus were, that by Bannú, which he did not take; that by Kohát towards the Resa'í ferry, which he most probably did take; and that by the Súniála'h Pass towards Níl-áb, which he may have taken, the two last named being well known caravan routes into India. In this last case he must have gone by Barsháwar (Pes'háwar), but there is no mention of his having done so, and, from other circumstances, I do not think he followed that route.

The configuration of the country between the Súniála'h Pass and the Indus towards Níl-áb, and on either side, if we look at the best map, is just of such a nature as we may gather it was from the accounts of these events, it being on the west bank somewhat in the shape of a bow, with the Indus as the string. A pursuing force of such vast numbers as the Chingiz Khán was at the head of might easily have occupied the bow of mountains on three sides, leaving the rapid river on the fourth. It is stated, indeed, that, on the morning of the eventful day, the Sulṭán found the Mughals on three sides of him, in front and on either flank, with the river in his rear. This was, in one way, of some temporary advantage to him; for the Mughals, at first, were not able to show a very extended front. They began by attacking the right wing of his very small force, a body of Mughals having advanced along the river's bank for the purpose of taking it in flank; and it was overpowered and nearly all slaughtered. Amín Malik, its commander, with a few men, made for Barsháwar, which they might have attempted to do by the Súniála'h or other passes near by, mentioned in these routes, but the Mughals had occupied the road, and they were cut off and slaughtered.

This place may have been the identical spot where he plunged into the Indus; for one historian, who wrote shortly after, says that the Sulṭán was encamped nearly opposite the Níl-áb ferry, preparing to send his family across the Indus. *See* Toha'h and Kahoa'h, page 443.

It is more probable, however, that the Sulṭán came by way of Kohát, not then built possibly, in order to reach the Resa'í ferry, where the passage is, and probably was then, not nearly so dangerous as it is farther up the river towards Níl-áb; and the physical aspect of the country immediately north of the point where the Kághzí or Kohát river unites with the Indus, with hills on the west, north, and south, and the Indus on the east, is not unlike that to the westwards of Níl-áb, previously described.

The only argument against these two localities being the identical scene of these events, particularly that near the Níl-áb ferry, is, that it is stated that the Sulṭán, after he reached the opposite bank, that same night entered the Chúl called after his name (*see* page 338), the extreme northern part of which is about thirty-five miles to the south of Resa'í, while it is about seventy south of Níl-áb.

Another argument against either of these points being the scene of this feat is, that it is distinctly related in the Ẓafar Námah that Amír Tímúr crossed the Indus at the very place, and that his tent was pitched on the identical spot where the Chingiz Khán and his sons stood when they witnessed Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín's feat, and were filled with wonder and admiration thereat.

"This ancient city lay in one of the routes between Láhor and Pes'háwar, and one of the old routes to Kábul and Ghaznín by Kohát and the Kurma'h Dara'h. Setting out from Kahoá, you have to proceed sixteen kuroh to Gajjú Khel,* previously referred to, passing by the way a few small villages, lying on the left-hand side, on the banks of the Ábáe-Sín. This village belongs to the Khaṭak Afgháns; and from it twenty-two kuroh distant, by way of the Mír-i-Kalán Ghás'haey or pass and Dzalúzí, is Chamkaní of Muḥammad 'Umar, from which town you go on to Pes'háwar. On the way from Kahoá to Chamkaní you have to traverse several lofty defiles, and cross difficult *kotals* or passes: water is scarce, and hereabouts some of the Khaṭaks dwell after the manner of *íláts* or nomads."

Eighty-ninth Route. *From Láhor to Makhad by way of the Pinḍ-i-Dádan Khán and Chakkú-wál.*

"The road from Láhor to Chakkú-wál has been already described. This last-named place is a considerable town, and one of the chief places in the district known as Dhaní Gahep, Dhaní being the name of the tract, and Gahep, the name of a great Jaṭ tribe, who, with the Awáns, another Jaṭ tribe of this part, whose country is called Awán Kár, and number about 20,000 families, are subject to the Sikhs.

"Setting out from Chakkú-wál,† you proceed three kuroh in the direction of north-west, inclining west, to Maigan,‡ then two kuroh to Sayyid kí Saráe, and four kuroh more to Bal;§ and here the territory of Dhaní of the Gahep terminates in this direction. From that place you proceed three kuroh in the direction of west, and reach Dir-áb,|| situated on the left bank (south) of a river so called, an affluent of the Sú-án, and within the *pargana'h* of Awán Kár, and then go on another two kuroh west to Nikká,¶ crossing a small river known as the Gambbhar, which, north-west of Dir-áb, unites with the river of that name. You then proceed two kuroh farther to Tallá;** and another two kuroh, still keeping west, to Ako-wál,†† a large village, and the place of residence and seat of authority of the Ḥákim or ruler of the *pargana'h* of Awán Kár, situated on the west side of a small river, rising a short distance farther south, and the bed of which here, and for about two kuroh farther north, is broad and sandy, and dry for great part of the year. It is an affluent of the Sú-án.

"At Ako-wál two roads diverge: the left-hand one—the northern—goes to Kálá-Bágh; and the right-hand one is as follows. Leaving Ako-wál, you proceed five kuroh in the direction of west, inclining north-west, to Síghún-wálah,‡‡ situated near the road, on the left-hand side; and another three kuroh, in much the same

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We know for a certainty that Amír Tímúr came through Bannú, and he appears to have crossed the Indus at "Dín-koṭ," that is to say Dhan-Koṭ, since swept away, which he effected by means of a bridge of boats, "constructed of trivets or tripods, boats, and canes." Now it is quite impossible that a bridge formed of such materials could have been constructed between Resa'í and Aṭak, or even much above Dhan-Koṭ, while, by crossing at Dhan-Koṭ, he could *at once* have entered the Chúl, which it is said he did. If this was the point of crossing, he must have marched right across the Bannú territory, and then have proceeded some way up stream along the west bank, or have marched by the Kúnah-i-Gáo pass through what is now known as Tsautara'h of the Khaṭaks, and have reached the Indus by the Chichálaey Dara'h, or have crossed the Rátá Roh range by the road described at page 441. His doing this, and apparently going so much out of his way, when his object was to reach Multán as speedily as possible, was evidently not without good reason. From Bannú, his direct route would have been by the present Pahár Khel and Laka'í, in the direction of south-east, not north-east. It is said that, in former times, and up to about this period, the low lying tract through which the Gambíla'h river now flows to join the river of Kurma'h, and as far south as the Paiṇzú pass, and east towards the Rátá Roh, was a vast swampy lake, the waters of the two rivers accumulating there. This continued until the river of Kurma'h forced its way through the hills, and formed the Tangaey referred to at page 440, known also as the Dara'h-i-Tang. This, evidently, was what caused Amír Tímúr to turn northwards to reach a point where the Indus was narrow enough to be bridged, and the waters were not too violent; and this was where Dhan-Koṭ formerly stood, near the present Kálá-Bágh, where the river, having left its narrow channel, began to flow in a broader stream, and with less rapidity; and there his bridge of boats was constructed, and "he at "once entered the Chúl-i-Jalálí at the skirt of the Koh-i-Júd," as related in his history.

Since that period vast changes have taken place in the courses of the Panj-áb rivers, as well as of the Indus, some of which I have pointed out in these pages.

* *See* page 440.

† "Chakowal" of the Survey maps.

‡ "Maingan" of the maps.

§ "Bhal" in the maps.

|| "Drab" in the maps.

¶ "Naka" of the maps.

** "Talagung" of one map, and "Tullagung" of another. This place is now a considerable town, with a fort.

†† "Akwal" of the maps.

‡‡ "Singwala" of the maps.

direction as before, to Buḍah-yál.* Then you go two kuroh more to Tammán, situated between two small rivers, and about half a kuroh from each other: that on the east side, flowing towards the north, unites with the Sú-án, and that on the west, after flowing in the direction of north-west, unites with the last-named river farther west. You next go on to Khoiyán,† distant about two kuroh, in much the same direction as before; and another kuroh and a half in the same direction brings you to Multán.‡ Both these villages are situated on the right or northern bank of the small river known as the Múnj-wálah river, which unites with the Sú-án a little farther west. From Multán you proceed three kuroh, still in the same direction as before, to Sháh Muḥammad Wálí,§ a village on the left or south bank of the Sú-án river, and then another kuroh west to Tir-áb,‖ a large village on the opposite side, at which place the Awán Kár boundary terminates. Half-way between these two places you have to cross the Sú-án river, which, at this point, generally contains but a small depth of water. It is, however, very broad here, in such wise that, in time of flood, it spreads out the whole distance between Sháh Muḥammad Wálí and Tir-áb, while above it is still broader.

"Eight kuroh north-west of Tir-áb there is a large village belonging to the Khaṭaks, called Baṛ-rá,¶ from which place the Khush-ḥál-Gaṛh ferry is distant fourteen kuroh. On the way there is great scarcity of water, inhabitants, and cultivation; and the road contains numerous ascents and descents.

"From Tir-áb to Makhaḍ the road leads three kuroh to the north-west to Bhalí Wálí Ḍhakí, a small *ḍhakí* or *kotal*, which is tolerably level, with mountains on either side, and still higher ones farther off on the north and west. The country hereabouts, for a considerable distance round, is very thinly inhabited. Proceeding another kuroh farther in the direction of west, inclining a little to the north-west, you reach the Bandíwáno kí Ḍhakí **—the Captives' Ḍhakí or Pass,—also called the Bandíwáno Ḍhakí, the name of a small *kotal* or pass, the ascent of which on the east side is slight, but on the west side its descent is nearly half a kuroh. After having cleared it and proceeded half a kuroh farther west, you come to the Makhaḍ river, which is formed of the water from several springs rising a little farther north, in the range which this *kotal* crosses. It receives other small streams from the high mountains to the north; and below the town of Makhaḍ it unites with the Abáe-Sín, but the water fails to reach it except after heavy rains, being lost in the bed two kuroh east of that place. Proceeding from this point two kuroh farther west in the river bed you enter Makhaḍ.

"The country traversed in coming to Makhaḍ, for a considerable distance, is very sandy, and contains but few inhabitants, especially the last portion of it; indeed, the north western part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, between Kálá-Bágh and Aṭak, contains but few inhabitants.

"Another road leads to Makhaḍ from Chakrála'h, also called Chakrían, which is distant thirteen kuroh. On the way there are very few inhabitants, and an excess of sandy desert waste. You have to cross the Sú-án or Sú-hán river, in which ordinarily there is but a small volume of water, near Chakrála'h.

"Another route, called the left-hand route, is as follows. Leaving Chakrála'h or Chakrían, which is situated on a spur of the mountains, on the north bank of the Sú-án river, you proceed three kuroh north-west, inclining west, to Thamí-wálah, crossing the Sú-án river by the way. From thence a stage of ten kuroh more brings you to Máṛí, which is the site of an old place on the east bank of the Abáe-Sín; and ruins of ancient buildings are conspicuous, including those of an ancient fortress on a hill. On the opposite side, distant two kuroh farther to the west, is Kálá-Bágh, a large *kaṣba'h* belonging to the Bangí Khel branch of the Khaṭak Afgháns, previously noticed; and you cross over to it by means of a boat. The road from Kálá-Bágh to Makhaḍ has been already described.

"On the road between Chakrála'h and Máṛí, you pass through much sandy desert waste, in which there is great scarcity of water, and very few people. The mountains on the west side of the river lie near by; while those towards the south, and south-east, called the Koh-i-Sakí Sara, show themselves a long way off."

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* Not in the maps, unless "Badali" be meant for it.

† "Khooian" of one map, Kooian of another.

‡ "Mooltan" of one map, and "Mootian" of another.

§ "Shah Mahemedwala" in the maps.

‖ "Trap" of the maps.

¶ Not in the maps.

** Ḍhakí is the Panj-ábí for a kotal or pass. Bábar Bádsháh writes the word Dákí, as a foreigner might do.

These two last-named places do not appear in our maps.

"Makhad is a town of considerable size, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and takes i
name from the little river of that name, which, after flowing for a distance of betwee
two and three kuroh, unites with the Abáe-Sín south of the town. It is surrounde
with a wall of unburnt brick, and belongs to the Bangí Khel section of the Sághar
division of the Boláḳ Khaṭaks; and it is under the sway of Ma'áz Khán, whose place o
residence and seat of authority it is. The town is built on high stony ground, the
western side of which is washed by the Abáe-Sín, and shows itself from a distance
of two or three kuroh. The Abáe-Sín, at this place, is very broad, in such wise that
the sound of a man's voice cannot be distinctly heard from one bank to the other,
shout he ever so loudly. There is a high mountain range to the north, towards Aṭak,
some distance off, and there are some mountains of lesser elevation in the same
direction within two kuroh of the town.

"Here there is an established ferry, where boats are always available, and are here constructed. Having crossed the Abáe-Sín, you proceed to Kohát, Pes'háwar, and Kábul. Pes'háwar is distant fifty kuroh, Koháṭ twenty-eight, and Kábul one hundred and fifty, as has been already stated in the account of Fáristán."

Ninetieth Route. From Khush-áb on the Jhilam, to Dera'h-i-Ismá'íl Khán, by way of Harnolí.

An extract from this route will be sufficient here.

"Leaving Duhúkarí,* a large village of Awán Kár, situated at the foot of the Koh-i-Sakí Sara [the southernmost point of the Salt Range], you proceed, keeping in a direction a little south of east, seven kuroh to Kairán Wálí, another large village, and five more to Jaṭ Wálah, also a village of great size, under the rule of Surkh-Rú Khán, the Awán. You then go another five kuroh to Wajhárí Wálí, a considerable village under the sway of Khán Beg, an Afghán of the Biluts clan, previously referred to.† All these villages have each a large well with steps to descend into it, the structures of bygone times.‡ From the last-named place you have to go ten kuroh south-west, inclining west, to Harnolí,§ a town of some size, the residence, and seat of authority, of the afore-mentioned Khán. On the way thither you meet with excess of sandy desert tracts, and great scarcity of water; and the mountains on the right hand rise near by. Chakrála'h is distant from this town twenty kuroh north, and Kálá-Bágh thirty kuroh in the direction of north-west. From Harnolí you go fourteen kuroh west, inclining south-west, to Khalúr,‖ an ancient town with sixty villages and their lands dependent on it. The Sind river lies two kuroh to the west of the place; and one kuroh south

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* "Dhokrí" and "Dhokari" of the maps.

† At page 333, which see.

‡ It will be noticed that the names of numerous places in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, south of the Koh-i-Namak-sár or Koh-i-Júd, as well as in the Dera'h-ját, and even in the Dámán, terminate in Wa'án, which word is incorrectly written in the Panj-áb maps "*Van*."

In the great tract of country between Layyá and Khush-áb and Daryá Khán, opposite the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, and the *pargana'h* of Kul Bhalak, there were, when these surveys were made, about 10,000 wells, and some six or seven *sard-ábahs* of brick. "These, in the dialect of the Panj-áb, are termed *wa'án*, in Hindí, "*báwalí*, and in Turkí and Í-ráni, *sard-ábah*, the signification of which is a great well, built of burnt brick, "with stone steps to descend into it." I recollect one I went into near Ruhtás which had one hundred and thirty broad stone steps.

The sinking of wells in this tract of country is a very difficult task, on account of the sandy nature of the soil. Props of wood and bundles of grass have to be used to prop up the ground during the work of excavation and building the brick work, and, after all, the sand gets in, and the wells soon became filled up again.

"It is stated that, as the troops of Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh, in their marches, when proceeding between Bharah and Khush-áb, and Harnolí and the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán, sustained great privations through scarcity of water, he caused a large *sard-ábah* or *wa'án* to be constructed at every stage; and these still exist among the admirable and beneficial curiosities of this tract of country. Among other things obtainable are horses of excellent quality."

It is very probable that some of these *sard-ábahs* are of a much earlier date than the time of Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh.

§ "Hurnowlee" of the maps.

‖ "Kulloor Kot" of the maps. The main branch of the Indus is now much farther off, about two kuroh west of the place, but a branch flows close by it. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," Vol. I., note to page 538. There are the remains of an extensive city here. The *maḥáll* of this name is mentioned in the Á'in-i-Akbarí as being one of the three constituting the extra Panj-nad district of the Láhor Súbah, and as being peopled by Chandels. The other two *maḥálls* were Sahlúr, also peopled by Chandels and others, who were assessed, respectively, as being able to furnish 50 horsemen and 1,000 foot, and 40 horsemen and 700 foot, for militia purposes. The third *maḥáll* was Bilúts previously referred to at page 341.

of it is Nagharí,* from which you go another kuroh in the same direction to Nuwan,† another to 'Umar Wálí,‡ and three, in the direction of south-west, to Suwád-púr. Half a kuroh more brings you to Makkalwáḍh, previously mentioned in the account of the Balúch tribe of Hút (page 5). Both these last-named places are ancient towns, and the latter was, in the olden time, the capital of the Hút tribe. When Ismá'íl Khán and other chiefs of the Hút acquired considerable state and dignity, they abandoned the territory which had been their former dwelling place,§ and founded a large city [town] on the other side of the Sind, and styled it the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán. From that period these two towns began to go to decay, and were neglected; and now they are desolate.

"Up to this period of time the tract of country extending from Kahlúr to Daryá Khán, and from the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán to Pahár-púr, they call Makkalwáḍh, after the above-mentioned old town. The last of the Hút chiefs who held sway over these parts was Nuṣrat Khán,‖ a descendant of Ismá'íl Khán, the founder of the Dera'h of that name."

My next section of Notes—the Fifth and last—will embrace routes leading out of the Dera'h-ját, beyond our frontier, towards Kábul, Ghaznín, Ḳandahár, and Herát, and the countries north and north-west of Kábul, and on and beyond the Oxus, of which no account has been, as yet, given in these pages.

1st March 1883.

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* Not in the maps.

† "Noon" of the maps.

‡ Not in the maps.

§ They had come originally from Mukrán. *See* note §, page 4.

‖ He was not taken a prisoner to Kábul by "Ahmad Shah Dúrání," but by Aḥmad Shah's son, Tímúr Sháh, as already mentioned at page 5, and his name is Nuṣrat, not "Nasrat."